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LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

OF THE

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

Warriors of the Seventeenth Century.

23281

BY

GENERAL THE HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

AUTHOR OF THE "ANNALS OF THE WARS."

"For to read History only for contemplation is a vain and idle pleasure, which passeth away without fruit; but to imitate the virtue of those praised men in it, is the true and public learning."—*Icon Animorum.*

PART I.

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To his Nephew,

JOHN WILLIAM SPENCER BROWNLOW EGERTON CUST,

EARL BROWNLOW, &c. &c.

THE AUTHOR

DEDICATES THIS VOLUME,

WITH HIS MOST AFFECTIONATE REGARD.

"THEN, THEN, YE LAURELLED WARRIORS,
OUR FEAST AND SONG SHALL FLOW
TO THE FAME
OF YOUR NAME,
WHEN THE STORM HAS CEASED TO BLOW;
WHEN THE FIERY FIGHT IS HEARD NO MORE, AND THE STORM
HAS CEASED TO BLOW."

CAMPBELL.

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ERRATUM:

Side Note, p. 256, *for* Sept. 6, *read* Sept. 16.

PREFACE.

I AGAIN take the field with a new volume of Military History; but it may be thought by some, that it is only to occupy ground already surveyed to the square inch, and which has been pretty well trodden under foot by the many crossing paths of previous wanderers. Turenne and Condé, Prince Rupert, Montrose, and Cromwell, are names "as familiar as household words" to men and women, young and old. It is with a desire to call the actions of these old Warriors back to modern military study that I venture to put forth these volumes. Surely Turenne was a Warrior and "a ripe and good one," and the story of his career may be rendered most instructive to young officers. Montrose is one whose life is cherished principally for its romance, but hitherto he has been scarcely brought into prominent notice as being distinguished by such an extraordinary genius in War as the world has rarely witnessed. The first Napoleon, whose natural *genius* for war excelled that of most Commanders, must himself share the palm with the Great Marquis in this respect. It may perhaps surprise some, to find King Charles the First in my list of "Warriors!" Nevertheless it cannot be denied that he saw as much service in the field as most men: and this is considered a legitimate plea to satisfy the claims of many a modern Warrior. I think he will be found to have possessed higher qualities for an officer than has been commonly supposed, because these were too often dashed by the great infirmity of his mind—a dis-

trust of his own judgment. Fairfax, like Monk (whose life will appear hereafter), has never had full justice done to his military character, because he has been tested only by civilians, who appear to have overlooked his martial conduct.

An article in the recent "Quarterly Review" heralds the revival to the army of an old military question, which, like those dazzling meteors that periodically recur, comes forth at intervals with a captivating brilliancy, but subsides again and again at intervals, without ever obtaining a settled place in our military system. Theoretic War is a common accompaniment of times of peace, and when the profession have little experience of the rough practice of soldiering its annals lose for the moment their bloody characteristic, and it passes into the hands of clever and ingenious men, by whom it attains a dreamy grandeur, that captivates the young and inexperienced among us. The question mooted is, to reduce the proverbial uncertainties of a conflict into a sort of mathematical problem, and to render the most unrestrained excitement to which the human mind can be exposed amenable to the regular movement of a time-piece. My opinion on such a matter may be of little moment; but I will confess that the science that is thought to be established on theories of war does not find more favour in my mind than it did in that of the Great Master in whose school I desire to enrol myself. I am disposed to notice it in this place, because I hold it to be a questionable, if not a dangerous study for those officers who have had no experience of the practice of war; for, while flattering the uninitiated, it must inevitably lead to disappointment, as it has done again and again. I do not believe that any great strategist has ever been a

successful leader of armies; and I have never met with an old campaigner who believes in the science as otherwise than *very partially applicable to the field.*

The object of the Reviewer is to put forth some recent works as a directory for modern war, principally deriving its precepts from Continental writers. The master, like the Prophet with Nebuchadnezzar, sets forth the dream as well as the interpretation. To establish a rule of his own making, he gives an illustration of his own drawing. He does not permit himself to be tied down by any previous authority, nor does he quote any to establish his dicta. He says "War has its rules like any other science," yet he fails to note whence he derives them, and takes up the subject without any reference to what has been previously established by common consent or otherwise. Were lawyers or doctors to establish the principles of a science in a like manner, woe betide the client and the patient. I may appear fanciful, and I do not affect to speak positively, when I affirm that the Archduke Charles, who is among the authorities noticed, was the most successful rival of Napoleon, while, with his morning mind and muscle, he followed out his own manly sense in the operations of war; but after he endeavoured to fight by rule, he was invariably worsted. General Jomini (another of the Reviewer's great authorities), whose historical writings are excellent, but whose authority on strategy is doubted, never was, as is well known, a leader of men in the field, who earned any repute, as such, either at Berlin or Paris. Frederick and Napoleon, who are, without any just reason, adopted as preachers and teachers in the school, treated the science of war quite as an after-thought in their glorious careers, but both mostly acted in direct variance to all rules.

But before proceeding further in the discussion of Strategy, I would desire to separate it altogether from things mixed up with it by the Reviewer. The necessity of a good staff, and a good commissariat, and an efficient military train, is not disputed; neither is the entire art couched in the word "Tactics." This last is admitted to be the very corner-stone of military operations, and may overcome fortune, in despite of Strategy. Every officer who has seen even an hour's service must have learned by experience the power of Tactics to save formations in the darkest necessities of a contest. On Tactics the successful handling of troops principally depends. Many thoughtless young men, who have never gone beyond a barrack-yard, despise drill (which is, in fact, the mother's milk of Tactics) as a tedious, and, as they would deem it, an unprofitable waste of time; but of such a notion every soldier should disabuse his mind. Discipline, and the power of readily handling masses, is *the* indispensable means of success in War.

Having now disencumbered the question of Strategy of those things which are really no part of it, I would ask of its advocates, if, as is asserted, War is subject to fixed laws, why are the rules of Strategy sought to be established upon very limited examples in history[1]? If the rules assumed be indeed the real science of War, it ought to be applicable to every contest that was ever waged. And what is also remarkable, the "cases cited" are (amongst the few that are given) derived freely from the late War in the United States,—a contest as yet very imperfectly

[1] What principle of strategy gave the victory to Condé at Rocroy? How many more of Frederick's successes were due to the inspiration of the moment than to science? What was it but the crudest effort of genius that brought to an end Napoleon's three days' battle at Arcole? There was certainly no strategy involved in it.

narrated, whose campaigns were limited to a very narrow extent of territory, and which was throughout a conflict almost entirely of rifle-pits and cannon in battery, without field guns or cavalry, and with very rare recourse to the bayonet. Campaigns so exceptional as those in Carolina and Virginia cannot fairly be quoted to establish the rules of any system. Doubtless some of the principles evoked by Strategy as a science are of value in laying down what may be rather termed the preparations than the operations of war. Such as are to determine a base from whence to act, the theatre of the conflict, suiting the ground to the strength or weakness of each arm, with the entire *mise en scène*, that is, the order and plan of taking the field, having reference to the political relations of the contest. These are the studies that must be carried on in the retirement of the closet, for, when once in the field, amid the din and smoke of the furnace, no General's intellect can be so calm as to attend to the conditions of an abstract science; and he would be perplexed at the application of rules to any practical purpose. I will venture to assert, that the wit of man cannot devise a rule for winning a battle, whether "the order be convex or concave;" and the toss of a halfpenny may influence the result of an entire campaign as well as of a battle. "Service—see service!" was the well-known dictum of Wellington: and that saying was verily "to hit the right nail on the head." It is scarcely possible to tie down military operations to fixed rules. But, if circumstances prevent the literal acceptance of the Duke's dictum, the *practice of war* may be gathered with every attainable advantage from military history. A mind well versed in the practice of the wars of the past may readily recall, even in moments of the greatest anxiety and peril,

the arts and expedients which have been employed by the genius of the greatest Artists in War in like emergencies and necessities.

I think that the Reviewer is prone to give too ready an ear to the depreciating style of Continental writers, on whom he builds so much of his faith in regard to the acts and deeds of British armies; and instead of resenting with proper spirit the insolent piece of wit of some foreigner in the Crimea, he gives currency to a most false assertion, that "our troops were lions led by asses," to which he pronounces the assent of both friends and foes! Perhaps there is no nation in the world of which this could be said with less truth than Great Britain. We have disciplined and led to victory Mohammedans, Hindoos, Negroes, French or Swiss, Germans, Portuguese, and others, who but for our good leading could never have been "brought up to the scratch." Nay, more; British officers in command of Sepoys have met in the field the same class of Indian soldiers led by French officers, who have never been able to stand against them in a fight. The Portuguese, when disciplined by the cane, "turned their backs upon their enemies;" but when led by British officers they were as good and reliable troops as those of any country. Yet though something parallel may be said of the French, it seems that the same cannot be claimed by Germans. The Austrians have signally failed in leading even kindred peoples; and there are some who contend that the Battle of Sadowa might not have been lost, if the soldiers and officers had been able to understand each other: but I will not further refer to a most gallant nation's reverses.

The same Theoretic School accepts another fallacy, in order to teach War on Continental Principles:— They lay it down almost as an admitted rule, that the

British are not a military people. What, I would ask, constitutes a military nation, if England, who for more than two centuries has shared in almost every Continental War, has not a claim to be one? What can more constitute the character than the Rifle Volunteer Movement? What constitutes a higher quality for the military experience of Great Britain, than that its army is the only one in the whole world that can advance and charge an enemy in a single red line two deep? The exploded prejudice of standing armies, to which allusion is made, is a thing altogether of the past. We spend our wealth, and the active energies of our people are exerted, to seek out of every quarter of the globe the highest advance of thought in War, that we may profit by it for the defence of our country. We collect and discuss with avidity every novelty in arms, accoutrements, or tactics, that can be heard of,—all which renders our army at this moment the most formidable, the most readily handled, and the most renowned in the world. What can make a people a military nation more effectually than these things, which are not to be disputed?

The part which the British have taken in every contest has been a very palpable and efficient one; and it has *tinged* at least the glories of the world. The history of our "operations" may be read with the greatest interest by every Briton, and I believe with the greater profit, because its accuracy may be relied upon. We never disguise our blunders, nor do we cook the lists of killed and wounded. What is it to us that such writers as Jomini (whose turn-abouts did not happen to have brought us under his notice) give us a very small share of praise and affection? What does it signify to us that France—who, resting in her vanity, is morally con-

vinced that her military greatness is more than that of all the world put together—passes over our military career with as much neglect as history will permit her to do? Our officers and soldiers may read with every instruction the past actions of our forefathers as of ourselves. And, with that national steadiness of character which characterizes our deeds, we may rest assured that the leading of the "asses" would not have been so successful, if the "lions" had not been as good soldiers as they are brave.

It is deserving of remark that, in the true spirit of our national character, none of our greatest heroes ever condescended to vamp up their shortcomings by writing a gloss upon their actions to save their personal credit and mislead the officers of the future. Marlborough was content to leave on record "that he had never besieged a fortress he had not taken, nor fought a battle where he had not conquered;" and Wellington, whose unfading maturity knew neither decay nor dotage, although he may have "committed many blunders," as all Generals have done, yet I firmly believe "committed the fewest," when compared with all who preceded him; and it can be said of him, and for all I know of no other general commanding armies,—that he was never once defeated, nor did he throughout his campaigns lose one gun to the enemy that he did not recover. I take leave to recommend to general perusal the episode of Dunkirk in 1658 (which may be read in the lives of Turenne and Cromwell), where the distinguishing Red-coat *first* comes into story with anticipated renown already influencing success in Continental War.

EDWARD CUST,
GENERAL.

Leasowe Castle,
December, 1866.

LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

OF THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Warriors of the Civil Wars.

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WARRIORS OF THE CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

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WARRIORS

OF THE

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH it is the mission of a soldier to make war the continual subject of his thoughts, and when one takes up the pen to make it

"His great example, as it is his theme,"

yet it must ever be admitted to be a great evil; though it is oftentimes inevitable, and sometimes necessary. But the dissensions between two or more parties holding allegiance to the same supreme authority is a far greater evil, since, as the Roman orator says, "Omnia sunt misera in bellis civilibus; sed miserius nihil quam ipsa victoria." This species of war, which the animosity of faction or fanaticism carries into all kinds of frightful extremes, has for its simple strategy,—the offensive and defensive. Nevertheless it has been observed as the general principle arising from the experience of ages, that civil wars have the special characteristic of forming great men and good soldiers, because all ranks of men being driven to the necessity of fighting "pro aris et focis"—for their valuables and

dearest interests—throw themselves with all their native energy into the science of war, which they have the direst necessity and the most intense desire to learn. If he who first reduced to rule the art of destroying his fellow-creatures had no other end in view than to gratify his own evil passions, he would be to us a monster whom it would have been our duty to strangle at his birth; but if his desire was the defence of the oppressed, and the punishment of intolerable wickedness; nay, even if it were, as in civil conflict, to curb ambition, to establish liberty, and to oppose the unjust pretensions of inordinate power, mankind ought to have erected altars to his honour.

When a people has been long subject to all the evils of an arbitrary government, and is compelled to have recourse to arms as the "ultima ratio rerum," one of two alternatives must survive the conflict—either the monarch conquers, and all remaining privileges are swept away in the triumph;—or the insurgents prevail; in which event the Government, without any acknowledged head left to it, falls to the disposal of the victor, and is generally seized upon by one of its superior captains; until, after some further struggle, the last favourite of the successful side procures for himself the power that had been lost or forfeited.

When in the seventeenth century the King took up arms in England against his Parliament, a captain like Cromwell was sure to be found in the ranks of his opponents, who, sooner or later, would attain to sovereign power. His character was the natural production of the times, and the most perfect example of the dominant party;—boldness even to fierceness; decision even to tyranny;—of strong clear sense, of great natural sagacity, and of an ambition that generated, in a mind that had at the first imbibed sincere religion, the detestable sin of hypocrisy. Nevertheless, throughout the dispute the combatants in these islands were neither cruel nor vicious. Both parties placed their

cause in the hands of God; and men and women on either side hoped to obtain the Divine favour by purity of life. The ultimate consequence has been what might have been expected,—a polity from which has resulted more happiness and more honour to England than ever fell to the lot of any other nation. These are the results that have descended to us from a struggle of sincere but intolerant diversity of religion, and of an unsettled basis of society.

In France other principles worked out a different national dispute: a minority of the King under a Queen Regent—an Austrian Princess—placed all the power of the Crown in the hands of a foreigner, and provoked the jealousy of a nobility itself debased by the most unbridled immorality. The conflict, accordingly, in France was degraded into a mere outburst of all the flagitious passions of our race—no conscientious feelings, no atom of public principle, were involved in it. The most abandoned women in the most elevated society freely and undisguisedly employed their favours for the ascendancy of the party of their choice; and a disgusting butchery, "that poured blood upon the earth like water," ensued, which eventually resulted in the establishment of such an autocracy as nearly three centuries have been unable to modify; for the French nation of the present day, under an Emperor of its own choice, has submitted to almost as abject a government as that which terminated the troubles of La Fronde in the seventeenth century.

It may be thought by many that the Generals of the Civil Wars of France and England had been sufficiently talked about, so that we required no fresh biographies of them; and perhaps to the general reader it may be so. But as my object is to produce reading for officers, I was obliged to consider whether there really did exist a clear military history of the Great English Rebellion, or any good translations of the military transactions of Turenne and Condé in

the field; and I believe I am right in saying that there are no such publications extant. It would be wrong, therefore, to pass over the lives of such distinguished leaders of armies in the Biographies of the Warriors of the Seventeenth Century. Moreover, as my former volume of the "Thirty Years' War" included the great contemporary Generals of Germany, and of the North of Europe; so this volume may have an interest in instituting comparisons of the practice of War with the same elements, and the same principles, at the same period in Britain and France. Perhaps it may be useful to compare some of these great leaders together—Torstenson with Turenne; Tilly and Mansfeldt, or perhaps Pappenheim, with Cromwell; Prince Rupert with Condé: while it may be well to study how armies were handled without the bayonet, almost up to the time of its invention, by the leaders of every great military nation.

I would add one word in respect to the admission of the name of King Charles the First into the list of the Warriors of Renown. It has not been the fashion with historians to regard His Majesty in that category. Nevertheless he had one attribute with which the profession unites the character—length of service in the field. His biography will show that he had many qualities that fitted him for a military leader, although they were darkened by the one fatal weakness—a readiness to defer the mode and moment of action to men greatly his inferiors. Charles was a man of unquestioned courage, for had he been braver he might, to the last, have saved his life by the surrender of the great principles for which he was in arms against his people—Church and State.

HENRI DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE, VICOMTE DE TURENNE,

MARSHAL-GENERAL OF FRANCE.

Born 1611. Died 1675.

1611. — His birth, parentage, and education.

THIS justly famous warrior was the second son of Henri d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon (called Sovereign of Sedan), by Elizabeth of Nassau, daughter of William the First Prince of Orange and Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier. He was thus descended from an illustrious race. His father was highly celebrated for his military qualities during the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III., and, when yet a young man, he was called "Le lieutenant, l'ami, et le compagnon" of Henry IV. He came to be regarded as the chief of the Calvinist party of that period. Our hero was born at Sedan in 1611. His elder brother, the Prince of Sedan, and himself were brought up together in the Protestant faith, although there was a difference of five years in their ages. The Prince accordingly quitted school

1624. (leaving his brother still under tutelage) to learn war under his uncle Maurice of Nassau. The Viscount was rather delicate in his health; and it was not thought that his frame was sufficiently robust for the military profession: nevertheless his heart was set upon it, and many traits are recorded of his extreme desire to become a soldier. He is said to have been slow of instruction, and that it had to be whipped into him. But yet history and biography attracted his attention, and he was particularly captivated with the life of Alexander the Great, while Cæsar and Quintus Curtius were also his constant study. His father died when he was twelve years old, and the Viscount was kept at home to finish his education under a tolerant Calvinist of the name of Tilenus. He evinced more success "dans ses exercises que dans ses études," and, after the example of his great model, Alexander, he took to taming a Bucephalus, and showed great courage, perseverance, and address in breaking horses. In 1624, although only thirteen years of age, he persuaded his mother to allow him to visit his uncle, Prince Maurice. This great warrior was however resolved to test the stripling's ardour by requiring him to enter the army as a simple soldier, in which capacity he saw his first service, and had already excited an interest with his great uncle, when Maurice died three months after he arrived in Holland. Henry Frederick, the new Stadtholder, took his nephew by the hand, and made him a Captain of Infantry in 1626. Under his uncle's command, he was opposed to the troops under the famous Spinola in 1627-8. The first action of real importance in which he shared, was the siege of Bois le Duc, which lasted from the 30th April, 1629, to the 14th September. The Prince of Orange loudly expressed his sanguine prognostications of Viscount de Turenne's career as an officer, from his conduct in this four months' siege. But after remaining in the Dutch service for a period of five years, during which he

His first military service under his uncle, Prince Maurice of Nassau.

Siege of Bois le Duc, 30th April—14th Sept. [1629].

gained no experience except in the attack and defence of strong places, he determined to seek service elsewhere. 1629.

The opportunity unexpectedly presented itself. The Duchess de Bouillon, his mother, was ordered by the French Government to receive a garrison in Sedan; and she recalled the Viscount to assist her in opposing this inroad upon her son's sovereignty. Turenne, although but nineteen, was sent to Paris to offer himself as a hostage to the King, that in resisting the royal demand the Duchess should not betray any desire to hold Sedan to her Sovereign's prejudice. The young officer was well received both by Richelieu and Louis XIII., and in 1634 he received from that King the command of a regiment of infantry, in which character he assisted, in March of that year, at the siege of La Motte, a fortress in Lorraine. The Maréchal de la Force conducted the siege; and, having established a breach in the bastion, he sent a storming party against it under the command of a nephew of his own, who was repulsed. It subsequently came to Turenne's turn to try his hand against the same bastion; and he succeeded in placing the French flag upon it; an exploit which obtained for him a considerable reputation in the army. This conduct gained for him the promotion to Maréchal de Camp, which he thus acquired at twenty-three years of age. He proceeded in a career of brilliant services in the army under the command of Cardinal de la Vallette in Germany, and distinguished himself especially in that commander's retreat before the Imperialist Generals Gallas and John de Werth. In 1636 he served with De la Vallette and the Prince of Saxe-Weimar at the siege of Saverne, and led the troops to the assault of the breach, where he received so severe a wound in the arm, that it was a question with the surgeons whether it should not be amputated.

Siege of La Motte, March [1634]. Is made Maréchal de Camp.

Is wounded at the siege of Saverne [1636].

In 1637 he served again under the Cardinal de la Vallette in Picardy, when he assisted at the capture of Maubeuge and the Castle of Solre in Hainault. The

Siege of Maubeuge: capture of

1637. — Breysac, 17th Dec. [1638].

following year he was appointed to an independent command to serve under the Prince of Saxe-Weimar, in quality of Lieutenant-General, a rank now for the first time established in France: it seems to have united the modern posts of Chief of the Staff and Second in Command. The object of this campaign was the capture of Breysac. The Viscount here distinguished himself by the defence of the trenches on the 20th October against the Austrians, under General Goetz. Turenne was here taken with a quartan ague, but nevertheless kept to his duty in the field until Breysac capitulated, on the 17th December.

Capture of Turin, 17th September [1640].

In 1640, Viscount de Turenne was sent into Lombardy to take the command of the French troops in the service of the Duchess of Savoy; and he received a shot in the shoulder before Turin, which city surrendered to Comte d'Harcourt on the 17th September, 1640. Grammont relates an incident respecting Turenne, which may have occurred when he was absent from active service for the recovery of his wound. In some society in which he happened to find himself he suggested play; but his companions replied that they had no money in their pocket to play with. He was, however, by nature a man of merriment, and rejoined that although he was adverse to deep play, it should never be said that they did not know how to amuse themselves. He therefore proposed that each officer should stake his horse. Grammont was one of the party, and won fifteen or sixteen horses; and although Turenne was one of the greatest losers, he was delighted at the success of this novel expedient, of making a horse a stake at cards. The Viscount appears to have had a separate command in 1641, when, towards the end of February in that year, he made himself master of Moncilio in ten days; and, crossing the Po, laid siege to Yvrée. At this time the Duc de Bouillon, brother to Turenne, had entered into a league against Cardinal Richelieu, and, in alliance with the Earl de Soissons and the Duc de Guise,

Siege of Sedan [1641]. Is made Maréchal

he held Sedan against the French King; indeed during the same year he joined the Princes of France in open rebellion to Louis XIII., who ordered an army under the Maréchals de Brizé and de Chatillon to besiege Sedan. But before it was forced to surrender he had the address to obtain terms and forgiveness from his Sovereign. During this time it does not appear that Turenne continued to serve with the French army in Italy. But in 1642, when Louis XIII. invaded Roussillon, the Viscount appears as Lieutenant-General in the army of Maréchal de la Meilleraie. The death of Richelieu, and of Louis XIII., within five months of each other, in 1642-3, made an important change in the fortunes of Turenne; for, in the first year of the administration of the Regent Anne of Austria, on the 24th September, 1643, Turenne was constituted Maréchal de France, although he had only attained his thirty-second year [1].

1641. — de France, September [1643].

By the direction of Cardinal Mazarin, Maréchal de Turenne took the command of the army of Germany at Colmar in December, 1643, upon the death of Maréchal de Québriant, who had just fallen at the siege of Rothweil, and the capture of the Count de Rantzau, who had succeeded him, with many of the superior officers of his army. The post to which Turenne had been sent was a most arduous one, for he had to get together a new army to oppose a hitherto

Takes the field against Count Mercy [1644].

[1] There may have been reasons other than military for this high appointment to so young a man. His brother the Duc de Bouillon had been involved in the Cinq Mars Conspiracy, and had in consequence lost his sovereignty at Sedan, which was forfeited and attached to the kingdom, as it has been ever since; and it is probable that the bâton was a sort of sugarstick, to console so illustrious a cadet of the house as Vicomte de Turenne for the loss of his Princely grade; but whether this be so or not, it was fortunate for his country that he was thus promoted in the prime of life; and it is fortunate for any State when a capable man, in the possession of all his best qualities, arrives thus early to the high command of its armies.

1644. — signally successful adversary—Count Mercy, whom he had to encounter in the midst of success with troops defeated, dispersed, without a head, and without money or arms. His first step was to withdraw altogether out of Alsace, and to organize his men anew in winter quarters, which he selected for greater security in the high country of Lorraine. While here waiting for remittances from the Court, he employed his own credit to obtain sufficient money to arm and mount 4000 infantry and 5000 horse. He then descended, and in the spring took up his quarters with these troops in the fortress of Breysac. Here he was enabled to obtain from fifteen to twenty guns; and with this little army he entered the Black Forest near the sources of the Danube, from whence he drove out a detachment of the enemy under Baron Gaspar de Mercy, brother of the Count; but he could not impede the Bavarians in the siege of Freiburg, which place capitulated in his very sight in May, to the superior forces which the Count de Mercy had led up to the support of his brother. But in the month of July a prompt reinforcement arrived in the camp of Turenne, under the Duc d'Enghien, and the Maréchal relinquished the command of the army to the Prince of the Blood, who came covered with his newly-acquired laurels at Rocroy, and with a force that increased the present army to a number above that of the enemy.

The Duc d'Enghien arrives with reinforcements, July [1644]. Turenne attacks the Bavarian camp, and compels Von Mercy

This reinforcement reached the camp of Turenne within four or five leagues of Breysac shortly after Freiburg had capitulated, and Von Mercy took up a position with the Bavarian army, 15,000 strong, which he strengthened by epaulements with abattis and large logs of pine-trees. Turenne advised M. le Prince to pass the ravines to the rear of the Bavarian army, and cut off their supplies, of which he knew they were in great need, rather than attempt to force the enemy from a position so defended. In this advice the Duke de Grammont coincided; but Condé was resolved to

attack, *coûte qui coûte;* and the Maréchal therefore suggested a division of the two armies, his own, counting 5000 foot and 4000 horse (called the Weymar army), to march down the valley that flanked Mercy's position, while the so-called Royal army, under the command of Maréchal de Grammont, consisting of 6000 foot and 4000 horse, was to carry the fortified height of the enemy. It was the 13th August, 1644, when the Viscount was in motion at daybreak along the mountain valley, and, driving in the outposts, presented himself before a regular line of intrenchments that quite barred further approach. In this way the two armies rested face to face, neither being able to come into collision with the other. L'armée du Roi, after having been repulsed in the first attempt, was successfully led forward by Condé and the other commanders on foot, who, *en grenadier*, stormed the intrenchments, and entered the camp, but could not make themselves masters of an enclosed work, which commanded the entire line. The assailants, however, held the ground till nightfall, having lost 1500 killed, including many superior officers. 1644. to retire, August [1644].

During the night Von Mercy withdrew his forces in great silence out of this fortified camp into another which he had prepared on the so-called Black Mountain, resting his left flank on the inaccessible ground of the Schwarz Wald, and his right on the Treisam river and the lately captured town of Freiburg, where the trenches that had been employed at the siege were now rendered available for defence; nor was the Prince or the Maréchal at all aware of this movement till daylight revealed it: when both armies, passing through the neglected defences, met in Von Mercy's abandoned camp. They forthwith joined their forces, and marched direct against the Bavarians in their new camp. In consequence of some blunder of an inferior officer while the Prince and Maréchal were reconnoitring the new position, an attack was commenced and continued with considerable fury, but without any method, throughout Severe action between Turenne and Mercy, near Freiburg, August 5.

1644. — the 5th August and into the night, in which 2000 French and 1200 Bavarians, including Gaspard von Mercy, brother of their commanding General, fell; and the contending armies bivouacked for the night in the midst of the dead and the dying. On this occasion Turenne showed the humanity of his character by bringing within his lines the wounded, whether friend or foe, and having them cared for and tended.

"The Three Days of Freiburg." Third attack of Turenne: retreat of the Bavarians, 3rd to 9th August.

The two armies, alike exhausted by the fearful carnage of these two days, were equally glad to rest a short time, and it was therefore the 9th August when the French armies made a third attack on their Bavarian opponents. As it was clear that Von Mercy must retire by the Abbey of St. Peter, which is situated at the point of junction of the valley of that name and the Bloter-thal, it was resolved that both corps of the French army should march to Langendentzling, situated at the north of this latter, and march boldly to cut off the retreat of the enemy. Turenne therefore marched at early morn, leaving Condé to impose a countenance on the Bavarian camp. But Von Mercy immediately detected the intended manœuvre, and gave orders to his advance to descend the Peter-thal. The advance of the Weymarian army consisting of eight squadrons, led by a gallant Swede (an excellent officer, who had learned the art of war by the side of Duke Ernest of Saxe-Weimar)—General Rosen—fell upon the retreating Bavarians just where the two valleys united. Here a sanguinary contest ensued; but Rosen, having greatly devanced his General, was obliged to withdraw before the entire Bavarian army, which now defiled upon him without his being able to make a new attack. In this manner Mercy carried his army along the high road by Holgraber, whither Condé followed him until he buried himself in the intricacies of the Black Forest, and made his way into the country of Wirtemberg.

Philipsburg

This was the famous action called "The Three Days

of Freiburg," to which French historians always attach a claim of victor for their great hero Condé. But in truth it was a succession of bloody affairs which lasted a week (3rd—9th August), in none of which the French secured the Bavarian position, although the result of the whole was the retreat of Mercy, leaving Freiburg in the hands of a strong garrison, and withdrawing his troops into the mountains, whither the French could not follow him. An advance of 200 or 300 horse followed the Bavarians, and were enabled to pillage a portion of their baggage, and, as some accounts say, to take some guns; but Turenne, in his Memoirs, does not mention this circumstance. The deficiency of supplies (for the French had not established any magazines) obliged M. le Prince, on the 16th, to withdraw the whole army across the Rhine, and, on the advice of the Maréchal, to sit down before Philipsburg, which was invested on the 28th August, and which was garrisoned by about 1000 men under Bamberg—an officer of considerable reputation; the resistance was respectable, but the place surrendered on the 12th September. From thence Turenne was sent to capture Worms, Oppenheim, Mayence, and Landau, when, having obtained possession of the larger portion of the Palatinate, M. le Prince withdrew his army into France, and at the end of October repaired to Paris, while the Maréchal placed the troops in winter cantonments in the month of December about Lorraine and Alsace, placing his own head-quarters at Spire.

1644. taken, and the greater part of the Palatinate, September [1644].

The French army required rest; and it was not easy to obtain for them the supplies they were in need of, for Von Mercy did not allow them much repose; and it required all Turenne's activity and skill so to place his troops as to prevent the union of those of the enemy to disturb his quarters. However, in the beginning of 1645, he learnt that the Bavarian army had sent away 4000 men to oppose the Swedes in Bohemia, under Torstenson; and he resolved accordingly

Turenne takes up his quarters at Mariendahl, April [1645].

1645. to open the campaign. He quitted Spire about the middle of March with 6000 foot, 5000 horse, and 15 guns. Von Mercy's army was still disposed in their winter quarters behind the Entz; but on Turenne's advance, he hastily collected them, and fell back into Suabia, and subsequently into the upper Palatinate; when the Maréchal stopped the pursuit, and took up quarters at Mariendahl about the end of April. Here the country offered great advantages from the green crops for the refreshment of the cavalry, and the Maréchal permitted himself to be over-persuaded that there was no danger in dispersing the horse in the pleasant villages around with this object. General de Rosen was entrusted with the separate command of these out-quarters, and received the most positive injunctions not to carry away the bulk of the cavalry above three leagues from head-quarters, and to send advanced parties towards Bavaria to obtain intelligence of the enemy's movements, as well as into Franconia, where they had left many garrisons.

Turenne is compelled by Mercy to retire to Hesse.

At midnight of the 2nd May, the Maréchal was awakened to receive intelligence that the enemy was advancing direct upon him, and was not far distant from Mariendahl. He immediately sent orders to Rosen to assemble his men and to meet him at Herbsthausen, within a league and a half of head-quarters. When he arrived at the trysting-place he found seven or eight regiments already up, and at the same moment the advanced guard of the enemy came in sight. General Rosen, instead of concealing that he had brought up only a portion of the army, for the shelter of a small wood conveniently assisted the disguise, passed on to meet General von Mercy's approach, and formed up in the plain. Here Turenne assumed the command with about 3000 infantry that accompanied him, but he could not rectify Rosen's blunder, and withdraw the troops behind the wood with the enemy so near; and accordingly he was obliged to make the best of the

matter, and take the chance of boldness and daring to correct the error. Von Mercy immediately opened his artillery, under which the General stood firm. The Bavarians then advanced, and the Maréchal received them on the right, and General Bomath on the left. The former resisted for some time; but the latter force was discomfited, and the General taken prisoner. Turenne accordingly despatched Beauregard-Chabry to rally the fugitives, and the Marquis de Beauvau to carry his regiment of cavalry to secure a passage across the Tauber, while he maintained the ground with two regiments of cavalry, and then followed the same direction in good order. Although pursued, he maintained a good countenance until night time, and then, without stopping, reached the Maine, where he attained the frontiers of Hesse. The enemy, however, took almost the whole of the French infantry, ten guns, and all the baggage. This was the first serious discomfiture that had befallen Turenne; and, coming so soon after his promotion to the rank of Maréchal of France, created a considerable impression to his disadvantage. He was thought, however, by reflecting men to have evinced great ability in carrying off the remains of his army into Hesse, instead of taking them to the nearer protection of the guns of Philipsburg, where they could probably have been forced to capitulate; whereas he was now enabled to unite himself with the Hessian forces behind the Weser, where he completely recovered himself before the end of the campaign. 1645.

Turenne took up his quarters at Cassel, where he assembled 4000 French cavalry, and 1200 or 1500 of his infantry, which, joined to 4000 Hessians under Kœnigsmark, rendered him capable of obliging Von Mercy to raise the siege of Kirchain, before which he had sat down on the 29th May. Here, however, he received orders from the Court to remain without attempting any thing more until the arrival of the Duke d'Enghien, who was ordered to assume the command of the army, Turenne compels Mercy to raise the siege of Kirchain, June; and is joined by D'Enghien, July 1.

1645. which he effectively did on the 1st July. It was a grievous mortification to Turenne to be thus superseded, but he obeyed the command of the Court without a murmur. "La mauvaise volonté du ministre mettait ainsi sa vertu aux plus rudes épreuves." This grand example should not be lost on military men—submission is as much the duty of the highest as of the private soldier in the ranks. Upon this change, for no assignable reason, Kœnigsmark withdrew with the Swedish army, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Turenne to conquer his obstinate resolve, and he retired into Lower Saxony; the Duke d'Enghien, to ridicule his wrath and crotchetiness, sent publicly to wish him a pleasant journey.

Battle of Allerheim, August 3.

The Duke d'Enghien never rested idle any where; and accordingly the army marched to Rottembourg, and thence to Dinkespuel, where he opened a trench; but before he could proceed further, he received information that Von Mercy was advanced to within two leagues of the place; and he resolved forthwith to give him the meeting, and marched all night with this object. On the 3rd August the two armies met face to face on the plain of Nordlingen. Von Mercy's army stood behind the village of Allerheim in a little valley formed by two hills, on one of which stood an old castle; and the other, called the Wineberg, rested on the river Wernitz—earthworks strengthened this naturally strong position, which was now occupied by 14,000 or 15,000 men. The Wineberg, which formed the right of the position, was held by the Imperial cavalry under General Gleen, and the left by the Bavarian cavalry under John de Werth; and the infantry, which constituted "the corps de bataille," occupied the village and the valley behind, under the Commander-in-Chief. About twenty-five guns were scattered along the entire post.

It was four in the afternoon before the Prince formed his army for the attack. His force was calculated at 17,000 men; the left under the command

of Turenne, and the right under De Grammont. As usual, D'Enghien disputed the advice of the former both as to the policy of any attack at all, and as to the mode of making it. The Maréchal's opinion on the latter point was nevertheless adopted. It may have been remarked, that the order of battle at this period was always the same. As the armies were composed in a very large proportion of horse, these were always placed on the flanks; and the infantry comprised what was called the Corps de Bataille in the centre. It was the Prince's desire to have made a cavalry affair of it; but Turenne having shown that to advance against the flanks without driving the infantry out of the village of Allerheim would be too hazardous, a general advance of the whole line was ordered. But four battalions and six squadrons were held in reserve under the Chevalier de Chabot. It was half-past five in the afternoon before the French opened their guns, under the fire of which they proposed to advance. But the German artillery was better-placed, and delayed the advance into the village, where the French were obstinately resisted from the church and bell-tower, while M. de Maison, commanding the centre, was dangerously wounded, and his place was taken by the Marquis de la Moussage; the Prince also received a contusion in the knee, had two horses disabled under him, and his dress was filled with balls; Maréchal du Grammont was taken prisoner, and Turenne had a horse killed under him. At length Von Mercy, the Bavarian Commander-in-Chief, was himself wounded, and that mortally: he died on the field from a musket-ball without a struggle. The combat, bloody as it was, did not terminate with the death of the conducting General, but the Bavarians resolved to revenge his loss; and John de Werth, who now assumed the command, not only cleared the village of Allerheim of the French, but fell upon the Corps de Reserve under Chabot, and, driving it before him, fell to plundering the baggage.

1645.

Death of Von Mercy: John de Werth takes the command of the Bavarians.

1645. — Retreat of De Werth: loss of the Bavarians.

In the mean while Maréchal Turenne advanced steadily with the left column; and, in spite of the fire of the Bavarian artillery, mounted the Wineberg, where he routed the Imperial cavalry, and took its commander, General Glen, prisoner. D'Enghien was now therefore enabled to re-enter the village, where the gallant defenders in the church and bell-tower, finding themselves enveloped, surrendered at discretion: and John de Werth, on his return to his lines, found every thing in confusion, and had no alternative but a speedy retreat[2]. This did not take effect until an hour after midnight; but, marching by the aid of the darkness, he was enabled to reach Donawert with the remains of his army by daybreak. All the German guns and many standards were captured, and a great many officers were taken prisoners. But the victors gained so bloody a triumph, that Maréchal Turenne relates they had 3000 or 4000 men "tués sur la place," so that they could not get together more than 1200 or 1500 infantry the following morning. M. le Prince was also so exhausted with his gallant exertions, that he was obliged to quit the army and return to Paris; and thus Turenne, who had most contributed to the victory of Allerheim, now resumed the chief command of the army. The enemy crossed the Danube, and the French advanced to Halle; and thus the opposing forces continued not more than five or six leagues apart until the 17th October.

Turenne crosses the Rhine, and captures Treves: unsuccessfully tries to effect a junction with the Swedes.

The Emperor having greatly reinforced the Bavarian army, the Maréchal determined to march away to the Rhine without loss of time; and so resolutely was this plan carried out, that, not finding the river fordable near Wimpfen, the whole army swam across it,—the horse carrying the foot on their cruppers. In the month of November the Maréchal marched his army to Treves, which city capitulated on the 20th November,

[2] Turenne in his memoir of the battle says "n'en ayant pas plus de raison que celle du Roi, si ce n'est qu'ils avaient perdu leur Général."

where he re-established the Elector in his capital; and he then took up his winter quarters in the valley of the Moselle; after which he himself returned to the Court. He availed himself of this opportunity to urge on Cardinal Mazarin a more energetic pursuit of the war. He showed the impossibility of carrying the campaign into Germany unless the French and Swedish armies could be brought to act together, or, at all events, in concert; and accordingly the campaign of 1646 opened in April with the intention of combining Turenne's army with that of General Wrangel; but before the former could pass the Rhine the intrigues of the Elector of Bavaria had checked this plan of operations; and the Imperialists and Bavarians having again coalesced, the junction of the French and Swedes was rendered impossible, by the former holding all the passages of the Rhine. 1646.

To effect a junction of the French and Swedish forces, Turenne joins Wrangel, Aug. 10: is obliged to raise the siege of Augsburg: takes Landsberg.

The old soldier, finding his plans "jockied" by the diplomatists, was determined to play out the game after his own fashion. With inexhaustible resources, the Maréchal now employed them in seeking a way of uniting himself to Wrangel in the County of Hesse. Accordingly he broke up from Philipsburg on the 1st July; and, leaving a sufficient garrison in Mayence, he marched across the Moselle, and feeling his best chance of getting over the Rhine was to take advantage of the Dutch assistance, he continued his march for fourteen days without stopping until he reached Wesel on the 15th, on which day he communicated to Wrangel his intention to be with him as soon as possible; and on the 10th August he effected the junction of the French and Swedish forces at Wetzlar and Giesser on the river Lohn. The confederated forces numbered 7000 foot and 10,000 horse, with 60 guns. The Imperialists and Bavarians under the Archduke Leopold, who had hemmed in Wrangel, without daring to attack him, had 10,000 foot and 14,000 horse. But as soon as these heard of Turenne's arrival they raised their camp,

1646. and moved away to Friedberg, where the Archduke took up a new post, and buried himself under accumulated earthworks.

Wrangel had most courteously surrendered the supreme command to Turenne, who without any delay followed after the enemy until he saw him so hemmed in to his camp that he could scarcely get out, on which the Maréchal passed them by, and, directing his course along the Maine, established himself between Frankfort and Hanover, and opened the communication with Mayence. To the astonishment of all Europe, nothing could move the Archduke; and consequently the armies of France and Sweden entered Franconia and Suabia, and crossed the Danube to threaten Bavaria at Donawert, crossing the Lech on the 22nd September, and capturing Rain[3]. But before he could obtain possession of Augsburg the entreaties of the Elector had moved the Emperor to order his General, with the Imperial army, to march to its succour; and Turenne raised the siege. But the Archduke Leopold was so enamoured of intrenchments, that he forthwith set himself to establish his camp near Memmingen, about five leagues from Landsberg, where the great magazine was established. About the beginning of November, Turenne and Wrangel, finding their armies suffering from the severity of an early winter, reconnoitred the Imperial camp, but found it too strong for a *coup de main;* for not only was it fortified with skill, but it was in the midst of marshy ground, and only to be approached by long defiles. The Maréchal saw, however, at a glance the fault of the strategy of the position; and, rapidly turning back the confederated army, crossed the Lech by a bridge that the enemy had neglected to destroy or guard, and took Landsberg, with its great magazine, by escalade.

The Elector of Bavaria separates from the Emperor, and makes a treaty with the French and Swedes at Ulm, March 14.

[3] Turenne says in his memoirs that there was in this place a garrison of 1200 or 1500 militia: "qu'on appelle chasseurs, parcequ'ils ont une casaque verte."

Here they not only provisioned themselves for six weeks, and levied contributions to the very gates of Munich, but constrained Leopold to separate from the Bavarians, and remove for the sustenance of the winter months into the Hereditary Estates. Indignant at the whole conduct of the Archduke Leopold, the Elector of Bavaria resolved to separate altogether from the party of the Empire, and to seek his advantage by a treaty with the Confederates. Accordingly M. de Turenne was applied to by the French plenipotentiary to fix a place for the negotiations; and Ulm was fixed upon for the parties to meet,—the combined army being brought round the place for their protection. Here, on the 14th March, 1647, a treaty was signed, by which the Elector promised to place Heilbronn in the hands of the French, and Memmingen in those of the Swedes, and to refuse any passage across his dominions to the troops of the Empire. The Emperor's army was thus reduced by the defalcation of that of Bavaria to 11,000 horse and foot, while the Confederates were augmented to 20,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, and these took up their winter quarters, 1647, on the banks of the Danube. 1647. — Treaty of Ulm.

The Cardinal Minister had so many irons in the fire at this juncture, that the military affairs of France were greatly compromised by them. The army in the North of Spain under D'Harcourt had not been successful, and Mazarin therefore determined to employ the young Prince, now become Prince de Condé, to take charge of the war in Catalonia. The accession of Innocent X. to the papacy had given a new enemy to France in Italy. Negotiations for the peace of Germany had been opened at Munster, while separate proposals had been opened for an alliance between Spain and the United Provinces. Diplomacy was in the throes of great events, which "le fourbe Cardinal" laboured incessantly to turn to the advantage of France. These anxieties were brought to bear upon our Viscount in a Turenne is ordered to the Netherlands, April 15; and Condé to Spain.

1647. way that very much displeased him. Mazarin thought that Austria had been so crippled by the closing events of the last campaign that the military security of Germany might safely be left to the Swedish army under General Wrangel; and he notified to the Maréchal that he would be required to carry down to Flanders the whole of the French and Weymar troops under his command, and take the command in that portion of France vacated by the removal of Condé to Spain. Turenne vehemently opposed this proposition, and sent earnest representations to the Queen Regent of its impolicy. However, on the 15th April, he received his orders, with direction to take care to render all the places he had taken secure, and to appoint trustworthy Governors to them, and then to remove to the Netherlands. As he did not immediately act on this latter direction, he received a more imperative command to do so in the month of May.

Refusal of Rosen and the Weymar army to march with Turenne to Flanders.

The Maréchal had, amongst other reasons that he had assigned against the removal of the army out of Germany, named his doubts as to the willingness of what was called the Weymar army to quit the Empire: these men, consisting of 5000 horse and 5000 foot, were old soldiers from the many disbanded troops that had served in the course of the Thirty Years' War, and whom Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar had brought over to the service of France, and who had consented to serve under Turenne after that Prince's death. They were now under the immediate command of General de Rosen, who since the affair of Mariendahl, where he had lost the greater part of his reputation as well as his liberty, had entertained a personal grudge against the Maréchal. Accordingly he incited them to remonstrate against being moved out of Germany; and they had in consequence declared they would remain there, a separate army under Rosen himself. They at once preferred their claim to the Maréchal for five or six months' arrears of pay. This just claim upon his Government

he promised to transmit after their arrival in Flanders; but urged upon them that it would seriously affect the King's affairs to make it a pressing consideration at this moment. Rosen, who was sent to the mutineers with this reply, placed himself at their head, and on the 6th June marched away the entire Weymar force towards the valley of the Rhine. Here he threatened to waste and destroy the villages on the banks if they did not supply the boats required to make a flying bridge, by which to cross the river. Turenne instantly put in march 3000 men to bring these men to reason, and, by marching nine German leagues without stopping, found the revolters in the very act of forming their bridge. Rosen, sensible of his treachery, assured the Viscount "Comme on m'emmène malgré moi." But he was addressing an old soldier, who was not readily blinded by such representations, but who, nevertheless, was inspired with a forbearing prudence that induced him to suspend decisive measures. In order, therefore, to meet the views of the Cardinal, he sent back his orders to his army to march forthwith towards Flanders, while he himself remained with the revolters at the head of his 3000 Frenchmen. 1647.

Turenne suppresses the revolt in the Weymar army, and arrests De Rosen.

Acting on the sagacious maxim of "Divide et impera," Turenne permitted the cavalry of the revolters to cross the river as they had already begun to do, but retained their infantry as well as Monsieur de Rosen himself in his camp. He remained here an entire month. Then, leaving the mutineers in their quarters, he took detachments of his own men to capture one or two trifling places in the valley, in order to keep them employed. In the mean while discord reigned among the revolters, and De Rosen after a time lost credit with them day by day. The Maréchal boldly crossed the bridge at Strasburg with two or three attendants, and took up his quarters with General de Rosen, greatly to his disgust. He asked some of the revolters to sup with him in the

1647. quarters of M. de Rosen, where he carried himself as a good fellow, without a show of resentment or suspicion. The mutineers, nevertheless, still communicated their griefs to the Maréchal through their deputies, who now expressed a wish that they might be allowed to march away from the river-side into the Marquisate of Baden; the Viscount consented and marched with them, taking the command as though they were not mutineers against his authority, and bid the quarter-masters act as usual. They thus proceeded a three days' march in this way to Etlingen, eight leagues from Philipsburg. Now he had them surrounded with French garrisons, and altered his manner altogether. They, utterly blinded, revived their demand for their back pay, and seemed as though they would seize his person. But he evinced no apprehension of this, and explained calmly the posture of affairs with reference to the moneys due. They then urged him to leave their quarters, and go, for his better security, to Stolhofen; but he quietly put aside all their representations, and, to bring matters to an issue, ordered 100 musketeers to be sent to him in the night from the garrison of Philipsburg, whom, when the gates were opened at daybreak, the Maréchal was there himself to meet and command. But while he ordered fifty to remain in charge of the gates, he sent the other fifty to arrest De Rosen, who carried him down the river two leagues from the quarters. He then sent for the commanding officers, to whom he announced the arrest of Rosen, and gave his commands that they should no longer take his orders. They at once saw the necessity of promising obedience to Turenne; and the men, seeing all their chiefs in his power, promised obedience. Nevertheless some still resisted, and marched away to Franconia. The Viscount forthwith mounted his horse, and, putting himself at the head of some squadrons whom he could trust, he overtook them near the Tauber, charged and routed them, killing 200 or 300, but letting those

who escaped make their way and the best terms they could with the Swedish army. I have related this transaction the more at length, because it is a good example of the best way of dealing with mutineers by a plan of mixing firmness and courage with a great command of temper and a well-occupied delay[4]; and it is almost as good an example of the military genius of Maréchal de Turenne as the most signal success in a pitched battle. 1647.

Turenne is ordered to return into the Palatinate: the Bavarians rejoin the Imperialists.

It was already the month of September before Turenne was at liberty to take the command of the army of Flanders. He had taken time to reorganize those of the revolters who had returned to their duty; but he received orders at this late season of the year to take up his quarters in Luxemburg, and to give his troops occupation by the capture of such places as Virton, Château de Mangin, and some other minor fortresses. This alarmed the Archduke Leopold, who now commanded the Spanish army of the Netherlands, and he immediately sent some regiments into Luxemburg to counteract M. de Turenne's supposed views upon that Duchy. In the mean while General Wrangel had been worsted by the Imperialist army under General Melander; and the Elector of Bavaria had again changed sides, and gone back to the Emperor. Under these circumstances the Queen of Sweden wrote a letter of complaint to the Queen Regent, and called on France to unite in punishing the Bavarians, and in keeping down the House of Austria. And orders were forthwith sent to the Maréchal, about the middle of December, to break off all intercourse with the Bavarian army, and to march back into the Palatinate.

[4] "Il avait su dans une conjoncture également délicate dissimuler les plus justes ressentimens, menager les esprits sans rien perdre de son autorité, châtier les particuliers en conservant la confiance du corps, se faire respecter des rebelles dans le tems qu'il se livrait entre leurs mains, les punir ensuite, ou leur pardonner à propos, et en ramener enfin la plus grande partie à leur devoir."

1647. — Correspondence between the Elector of Bavaria and Turenne, Dec.

The following correspondence took place between the Elector of Bavaria and Maréchal de Turenne on this subject:—

"MONSEIGNEUR,—J'ai écrit il y a quelque tems à Votre Altesse Electorale, pour lui marquer que je n'avais encore reçu aucun ordre de la Cour sur ce que je devais faire depuis Votre rupture avec les Suédois, et que j'avais dépêché un courier en France pour savoir les volontés du Roi. J'ai depuis reçu ordre de Sa Majesté d'envoyer une trompette à V. A. E., pour lui faire savoir que le Roi reste dans la même union offensive et défensive avec les Suédois pour pouvoir parvenir à une bonne paix et que ses armées agiront à l'avenir conjointement avec eux pendant tout le tems que V. A. E. les aura pour ennemis; c'est de quoi je n'ai pas voulu manquer de me donner l'honneur de vous avertir et de vous supplier de me croire," &c.

To this the Duke of Bavaria wrote the following reply:—

"ILLUSTRE PRINCE,—Vos lettres de ce mois, bien que sans date de jour, m'ont été rendues par votre trompette, et j'ai appris par elle que vous aviez reçu de la Cour Royale de France des ordres de rompre la neutralité que j'avais conclu avec cette Couronne, et ou j'avais stipulé expressément que je n' adhérerais plus à ce Traité, si vos troupes à l'avenir se mettait en devoir d'agir offensivement contre moi. Je vous avoue que la renonciation de la Couronne de France à la neutralité m'a beaucoup surpris; que je ne m'y attendais pas et que je m'étais flatté même du contraire, par les déclarations qui me furent faites de la part de la Reine Régente et du Cardinal Mazarin, dans le tems que je renonçai à la neutralité établie entre moi et la Couronne de Suède par les raisons particulières que je m'expliquai par écrit et par mes ambassadeurs à Munster. Cependant les susdites

déclarations se trouvent contraires à la résolution présente: mais puisque c'est une chose déjà résolue, et faite, comme on le prétend, en vue de procurer la paix, je dois me tenir satisfait; et quoique mes forces ne sont point comparables à celles de la puissante Couronne de France je me défendrai du mieux que je pourrai contre ceux qui m'attaqueront, dans la confiance que, n'ayant pas voulu adhérer à mes intentions pacifiques, Dieu bénira mes armes afin de parvenir à la paix, et en attendant je tâcherai de me défendre contre mes ennemis. 1648.

"MAXIMILIEN.

"De Munick, le 30 Décembre, 1647."

At the commencement of 1648 the Viscount asked and received permission to repair to the Court *en relâche* of all his late exertions. But, when he was on the point of quitting the army, he received an officer of the Landgravine's household, requesting him to join the French troops with the Swedes, and to make a winter campaign. The information appeared to the Maréchal to have so much importance, that having obtained the King's sanction and reinforcements, he set his army in order for the winter campaign. His army consisted at this juncture of only 4000 horse and 4000 foot, and 20 guns. But he had fifteen fortresses, large or small, sufficiently garrisoned, beyond the Rhine, on which he could rest his operations. He forthwith sent into Switzerland to buy horses to remount his artillery, and employed the ten days' delay he yet allowed himself in reorganizing his army. But on the 10th February he set off in spite of frost and snow, and an impoverished line of march, and after eight days reached Mayence, where he crossed the Rhine, and proceeded into Franconia. The Imperialists, as soon as they heard of Turenne's passage of the river, retired behind the Danube; and Wrangel found himself thus at liberty to return into Hesse, and join the Viscount at Gelnhausen. It was the 23rd March, however, before the junction

Turenne joins Wrangel again, 23rd March.

1648. was effected; for the Maréchal was obliged to collect supplies for any forward movement: and indeed the season was so severe that he sought to get cloaks for his soldiers, for they had already suffered greatly in their health. The confederated army crossed the Maine, and halted in the valley of the Danube. Here the commanders disagreed as to the direction of their future course—Wrangel and Kœnigsmark being desirous of carrying the war into the upper Palatinate, and Turenne of remaining nearer Suabia. The junction of the two armies had unfortunately brought together the Weymarian mutineers who had taken service in both, and these were now again blowing up the flames of sedition. It therefore required all Turenne's sagacity and prudence to prevent an outbreak; but he was resolved nevertheless to keep firm to his plan of remaining near the countries abording on the Black Forest. Wrangel and Kœnigsmark accordingly went their way; but he knew that they would not venture to move far from his support; and after a few days' march they halted, and Turenne proposed to them the middle course, of making a rendezvous at Rothenburg on the Tauber. Here they sojourned together for three weeks, when they heard that the Imperialists were near Ulm; and Turenne proposed an immediate advance against them. Upon their approach, Melander, who commanded the Imperialists, hastened to place the Danube between the armies.

The French and Swedes defeat the Imperialists: Melander killed, May 17.

As soon as the two armies came in contact near Lavingen, Turenne, Wrangel, and Kœnigsmark took 3000 horse, and made a reconnaissance in force with a view of testing the enemy's intentions, on the 15th May, leaving the main body, with the guns and baggage, to follow at leisure; they attained, on the 17th, a place called Zusmarhausen, near Augsburg, where Turenne, leading, fell upon an advance of the Imperial horse under Montecuculi, and drove them across a plain watered by the river Lutzen, where Melander was

formed up with 2000 musketeers and some cannon, with the rest of his cavalry. A bloody and obstinate conflict ensued, in which General Melander was killed. On this both cavalry and infantry withdrew under cover of a wood, which the Swedes attacked, and succeeded in capturing eight guns, and taking many prisoners and baggage. The Confederates after this advanced upon the enemy, who were retreating towards their main body; when behind the broken rivulet, called the Schmult, they saw three battalions and six or seven squadrons drawn up behind intrenchments, under the command of Duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, to dispute the passage. As Turenne had not got up his infantry to storm the position, he employed the guns he had captured to open a cannonade, which caused great havoc. Nevertheless Duke Ulric stood firm till sunset, though he had five horses killed under him. The Prince's astonishing resolution saved the rest of the Imperial army, who were now withdrawn by Montecuculi behind the guns of Augsburg. Turenne rested two days, and then, in conjunction with General Wrangel, marched towards Bavaria, and laid siege to Rain upon the Lech, about five leagues from Augsburg, while Kœnigsmark carried off the Weymar army towards Bohemia. 1648.

Piccolomini crosses the Danube; Turenne withdraws behind the Iser, July.

The poor Bavarian Elector, at the age of seventy-eight was again obliged to quit his capital, and repaired to Salzburg on the 3rd June. On the 12th the confederated generals passed the Iser by two bridges at Frisingen, and, obliging the enemy to fly before them towards Passau, occupied the town of Muldorf on the Inn. Here they remained a fortnight, vainly endeavouring to cross this difficult stream, and to enter the Hereditary Dominions. Their engineers, however, could neither bridge the river nor obtain boats in which to effect a passage; and therefore on the 6th July Turenne quitted Muldorf, and marched to Neumarck, which he reached on the 9th. Piccolomini, who had been summoned from Flanders to take the

1648. command of the Imperialists, crossed the Danube at Passau, and approached within five or six leagues of the camp of the Allies with an army of 10,000 foot and 15,000 horse. The Viscount, in the presence of such a force, withdrew behind the Iser, and the enemy followed him to Landshut on the same river, and here the two armies remained face to face for an entire month.

The surprise of Prague by Kœnigsmark, and the capture of Duke Ulric of Wirtemberg in a trifling affray of outposts, discouraged the Imperialists. However the armies remained in their respective camps, which they both strengthened by intrenchments for four weeks, during which time on both sides they reaped the ripe harvest for their respective maintenance.

Peace of Westphalia, 24th October.

The Viscount, observing a diminution in the strength of his opponents on the opposite bank, broke up on the 4th September with a detachment, and captured Dachau on the Ambre; and then the whole force, Swedish and French, removed to Mosburg on 1st October. On the 10th they crossed the Lech, and on the 15th the Danube; having lived at the expense of the Elector of Bavaria during the entire campaign, without any affair of consequence having occurred to dispute their full possession of it. Turenne planned a like irruption into his Hereditary Estates for the next year. But in the mean while the negotiations at Munster bore fruit, and the peace of Westphalia was signed the 24th October, 1648.

Turenne's skilful management of the Swedes.

Turenne played a considerable game in the world at this juncture. While France desired to humble the House of Austria, she had no wish to ruin her—nor did she desire to exalt the Protestants at the expense of the Roman Catholics. But the Swedes were bent on giving a triumph to the Protestant cause of Germany, and on securing all the profits of the war for themselves. The Maréchal was a most valuable intermediary to manage the Swedes with a dexterity, firmness, and courage that overcame the intrigues of politicians and the double-dealing of his own Government.

It seems to be ordained that the moral tempests of the world, like the physical ones, shall arise from a general derangement of its governing principles. Winds and storms arise when the general atmosphere is troubled, and in like manner "wars and rumours of wars" appear to pervade the surface of our globe when the minds of men are every where unsettled, and when great changes threaten the ordinary repose of society. The Thirty Years' War was a thorough disruption of morals both in practice and example. Religion had been played with, and had lost its influence, for it had given rise to rapine, violence, and immorality of every kind. Unlike the Reformation, which was the contest of reason, the sword was here called upon to cut every knot, and was directed against both friend and foe, without a thought of mercy. The Emperor fought under the Cross for power; and Sweden, after the death of Gustavus, unfolded the Bible to obtain plunder and pelf; while both Papist and Protestant degraded faith to a mere excuse for bloodshed. But about the same time Alexi, Balli, and Massaniello in Italy, the Puritans and Democrats in England, the Janissaries at Constantinople, all alike disturbed the world by their dissensions, and civil war raged every where. But why did it also arise in France? Was there in that kingdom any deep feeling for religious or for constitutional liberty? It is notorious that her people were at this period perfectly indifferent either to one or the other. The only account that can be rendered for the Civil War that was suddenly lighted in this year (at the very moment when the sun of glory seemed extinguished at Lens), was that constant French Magna Charta—street barricades. In August, 1648, the people of the French capital were occupied at the same moment in singing a Te Deum for a victory, and in overturning the Government and besieging the Queen Regent in her palace. Voltaire says, "Le Cardinal de Retz se vante d'avoir seul armé tout Paris dans cette journée qui fut nommée des Barricades." "C'était

1648.

Character and consequences of "The Thirty Years' War." War of "La Fronde."

1648. un homme qui respirait les factions et les complots ; il avait été l'âme d'une conspiration contre la vie de Richelieu ; il fut l'auteur des barricades, il précipita le Parlement dans les cabales, et le peuple dans les séditions *afin qu'on en parlât.*" Another French historian says, " Ce ne sont qu'ambitions individuelles, convoitises effrontées, vanités, mécontentes, engagemens factieux pris dans les ruelles. Les femmes apparaisent sur le premier plan, et sont applaudies comme des héroines de théâtre." These are French accounts of that which we have now to relate—" La Fronde," or the Civil Wars of France in the Seventeenth Century.

Turenne refuses to take part in the Civil War, and retires into Holland.

The Queen Regent, with tears in her eyes, implored the Prince de Condé to protect the young King: the fiery Prince besieged the capital; and the Parliament, having recourse to arms in their defence, named the Prince de Conti Generalissimo of their forces, and the Duke de Bouillon, elder brother of Turenne, to act under him. The Cardinal saw the necessity of winning the Maréchal from the party to which his brother had attached himself; and he sent to him in Germany a special messenger, with his friend the Marquis de Ruvigni, with letters from both the Queen Regent and himself, granting him the government of Alsace, promising a settlement of some equivalent for the Principality of Sedan, and reminding him of and renewing the offer of his niece in marriage. The Viscount's reply was frank and bold. He declined to receive any favour during a period of political trouble; thanked the Cardinal for the offer of his niece's hand, but declined it on the obstacle of a difference of religion. He disapproved of a blockade of Paris, as improper during the minority of the Sovereign. He added, that, in compliance with the orders received, he was about to cross the Rhine with his army, to return to France, but that he should take no part in the contest either on the side of the Parliament or the Regent. The Cardinal was not inclined to trust to half-measures. If he was not disposed to go with him, he resolved he should

not have the army at his back to go against him; and he therefore sent orders and money to pay off and disband the army. After acting to the full in obedience to these directions, the Maréchal quitted his command, and withdrew with fifteen or twenty followers into Holland to await the course of events. 1648.

After the accommodation between the Count and the Frondeurs, known as the Traité de Ruel, Turenne returned by water from Zealand to Dieppe, and repaired to Paris. Here he was enabled to learn the aspect of political affairs; and two days after his arrival he went to Compiègne to make his court to the Queen Regent. The Cardinal received him with great politeness, but the Maréchal saw clearly that he was not trusted by the astute politician. However, we may conclude from the character given of the Maréchal by Cardinal de Retz, "Il a toujours eu en tout comme en son parler, de certaines obscurités; on l'a cru plus capable d'être à la tête d'une armée que d'un parti," that Turenne had not much natural quickness of perception, and that in the company of Mazarin and De Retz the soldier was easily mystified. As matters advanced, the Maréchal seems to have got still further in the dark, but naturally turned to the side of his old comrade the Prince, and was therefore publicly regarded as belonging to his party. Nevertheless he knew his Highness, and his quarrelsome and haughty disposition, too well to commit himself to become his partisan, until the startling news reached him one morning, that the Cardinal Minister had committed Condé to the Castle of Vincennes. This information was soon confirmed to him by a visit from the Marquis de Rumigny, who came on the part of Mazarin to renew all his blandishments, the offers of a high military command, together with that of a niece in marriage.

He returns to Paris: his reception by Mazarin: Condé sent to prison.

It was a part of Turenne's character, never to regulate his politics by his interest; but, with some denseness, he was not awake to the very evident fact, that

Turenne and the Duchess de Longue-

1650. — ville: his negotiations with the king of Spain against the French Government, April 20.

to break with the Cardinal Minister was to set himself in opposition to the King, and he had never been so warm a friend of Condé as to take a step into rebellion against his Sovereign to assist the Prince. At the same time he was indignant at the treatment of one so high in the State and so distinguished in the army; and, not stopping to weigh consequences, he resolved to quit Paris and repair to Stenay, which M. de Chamilli held for the Prince de Condé, and he was received there with great respect. Thither also came within a few days the hero's sister, the Duchesse de Longueville, a woman of spirit and of great fascination; and it has been pretended that she influenced by her charms the course now adopted by Turenne. In these days of thorough want of all principle, and when women were the chief promoters of party, no man who had not the forbearance of a Joseph may be thought to be free from the imputation which was attached to Turenne; but by what motive soever he may have been actuated, the Viscount now sold his plate, and raised and borrowed what money he could, and wherever he could, and added this stock to all that could be raised by the Duchesse to tempt and win over the old soldiers that could strengthen and garrison the castle. He could not, however, attach to his fortunes above twenty or thirty officers, and two or three German regiments. The King's troops, therefore, having been sent against these raw levies, the Maréchal placed some of his most trusty followers in possession of the castle of Stenay. He then opened negotiations with the Count de Fuensaldaña, who obtained for him and the Duchesse de Longueville, April 20, 1650, a formal treaty with the King of Spain, that Philip IV. would stand by them until the Prince de Condé should be released out of prison. This treaty of alliance with a foreign enemy to his King and country is unhappily an ineffaceable stain upon the loyal and honest character of Turenne.

The Maréchal did nevertheless address a letter to the

Queen Regent "qu'elle s'abandonnait trop aux conseils du Cardinal: et qu'en faisant enfermer le Prince de Condé, appelé par sa naissance à la fonction d'un des chefs du Conseil pendant la minorité, elle avait fait un usage trop rigoreux de son autorité." 1650.

Things having been brought to this pass, immediate preparations were made to take the field. Turenne collected together such troops as he could, and, having joined the army of Archduke Leopold with them, they took into their joint consideration the best plan of proceeding. The Spaniards were reasonably enough desirous to get back the strong places which the French had taken from them in the previous campaign; but Turenne's only object in the war was to release Condé, or to assist, by a diversion, the endeavours making for the same object by the friends of the Prince elsewhere. In the absence of the Archduke, the Spaniards, after some discussion among themselves, offered Maréchal de Turenne the chief command; and towards the middle of June he marched the army into Picardy, and sat down before le Câtelet, a small fortress near the sources of the Scheldt; which in three days opened its gates. But this little success disquieted the Archduke, who forthwith repaired to the army from Brussels, and assumed the command in chief. Upon the information that some of the garrison had quitted Guise, he opened the trenches before that place, and with great apparent vigour he frightened the inhabitants, who required the garrison to withdraw into the castle, and gave up the town. The Spaniards then opened mines, which ruined the old walls, but not sufficiently to permit an assault; and a Royal army commanded by Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin approached as near as Compiègne to disturb the siege. The opposing armies were very nearly of the same force—about 10,000 or 12,000 foot, and 6000 or 7000 horse. But while occupied with the siege, the Spaniards had not sufficient force to hold the country,

Movements and successes of the Spanish army; activity of Turenne.

1650. and accordingly the Royal army cut off the supplies, and famished the besieging army to such an extent that they were obliged to raise the siege and march away to seek subsistence elsewhere. After a few days' refreshment, however, they again took the field, and sat down before La Capelle, which surrendered in ten days; and the Spanish army passed the river Oise; and Turenne, having urged them unsuccessfully to march at once to Paris, carried forward 2000 horse to reconnoitre the King's army at Marle, which marched away at his approach: Turenne then urged the Archduke to pursue them to Vervins; and, always pressing on at the head of the cavalry, he pushed forward to the river Aisne as far as Neufchâtel, where he heard that a force under Maréchal d'Hocquincourt was at Fismes, where he found fords by which he crossed to attack him right and left, and, after considerable resistance, obliged him to retire to Soissons, leaving in his hand 400 or 500 prisoners. Here he learned that Condé had been removed from Vincennes, and sent away to Marcoussi, eight leagues from Paris, on the Orleans road.

Siege of Rhetch, Dec.

Having thus missed the object of this rapid march, the entire army rested a month at Fismes, where they obtained abundant subsistence. Turenne then advised a move on Mouson, the possession of which would affect the possession of Stenay, which was naturally an object to be coveted by the brother of the Duc de Bouillon. The place was invested at the end of September; but such was the want of artillery and siege material, that it was the middle of November before it capitulated. The Spanish army now required rest; and, without further ado, took up winter quarters in Flanders. Turenne would fain have kept the field a little longer. But with a force only counting 8000 men, with six light guns, he took post upon the frontier between the Aisne and the Meuse, determining to have his eye open on contingencies. However, the Royal army, increased to 15,000 or 16,000 men, taking

advantage of this lull, marched to besiege Rhetch, which the Maréchal du Plessis ordered to be invested on the 9th December. This town had been taken by Turenne in the August previous, and he had placed in it a garrison of 1800 men under Degli Ponti as governor, considered the foremost man of his time for the defence of places; and the magazines were furnished to repletion with every kind of necessary material. 1650. —

Capture of Rhetch.

Trenches were opened on the side of the Capuchin Convent, and extended so as to include the citadel in their approaches, that both that and the town might be attacked together. The besiegers took up their quarters on both sides of the Aisne; and, at once to encourage their exertions and to show the importance attached to their service, Cardinal Mazarin arrived at the cantonments. His characteristic energy and impatience were immediately seen, when, in defiance of the scattered condition of the troops, and the contingencies of a winter season, he encouraged Du Plessis-Praslin to a step that was, to say the least of it, most hazardous. There was found a postern so placed in the wall as to be unflanked by any part of the *tracé;* and an enterprising party was sent to cross a branch of the river, and to approach this place. They found the bridge broken; and without delay threw some beams across, over which they dragged a twelve pounder, and blew in the door. The besieged succeeded for a moment in repelling the intruders; but a support being at hand, the town was entered, and Degli Ponti capitulated.

Du Plessis prepares to attack Turenne, December 14.

As soon as Turenne got information of the approach of the Royal army, he broke up from his quarters, determined to support the garrison the best way he could; for he felt that the loss of the town would probably occasion the loss of all the conquests of the last campaign. He had marched his army three days, and on the fourth was still a long day's march distant; but he had heard the guns booming from the beleaguered town, and had every confidence in their continued

1650. resistance. As he marched, however, the cessation of the distant firing alarmed him; and when he reached within a league of Rhetch, an hour before sunset, his advance obtained the information that the town had surrendered. He halted, however, in the night, firing guns, to give notice of his arrival to the garrison. But when these were not responded to, he commenced his retreat by the road by which he had advanced. The Maréchal du Plessis, having secured the prize, determined to follow after Turenne with the utmost expedition; and, giving out corn to the cavalry to carry, he marched at their head on the night of the 14th December, and about nine o'clock in the morning came in sight of the Viscount's forces. The two armies marched on in parallel lines within half shot. Du Plessis, somewhat afraid of his great adversary, hesitated to strike; until at length he resolved to descend into the valley that divided the armies, and strike a blow.

Turenne routed by the Royalists at Rhetel.

Turenne saw the necessity of fighting, but doubted whether with an inferior army he had better stand on the height to receive the blow, or take the initiative, and attack while the enemy was preparing his formations. He determined on the latter alternative, and marched down into the plain. He formed up in two lines, with a reserve; his right commanded by La Fauge with the Germans, and his centre by De Duras, De Beaveau, De Boutteville, and De Mortausier. The Lorrainers, under the Count de Ligneville, composed the left. The Royal army was commanded on the right by the Marquis de Villequier, and the left by D'Hocquincourt. Turenne's old Weimar contingent—still under De Rosen, now stood in the centre of his adversaries. The Viscount began the battle, and charged with his front line up to the very frontlets of the enemy's horse, the Maréchal himself making the utmost personal exertions to force back De Villequier, in which attempt the horse he rode received two

wounds. Nevertheless, he succeeded against the enemy's first line, and vigorously approached the second. De Fauge, on the other flank, was not so successful. His troops got into disorder and fled, and he himself was made prisoner. The Maréchal, with his wounded horse, could not himself get to the rescue, and had no sooner mounted another charger than that also was wounded severely, so that matters attained such a head that he was twice or thrice summoned to surrender, and was at last obliged to fly for safety on a third horse that was supplied him. As he quitted the army, he collected some 500 horse as an escort, and reached Bar-le-Duc, where he rested some six hours, and where De Duras, with about 100 men, joined him; and they made the best of their way to Montmedi about two leagues from Stenay. He sent word to Madame de Longueville, that he preferred not to unite his troops to hers, because it would appear as if he had deserted his public hopes for a private object, which might discourage the Spaniards, their allies. The Archduke Leopold, however, stood by the Viscount in his misfortune, and confided to him power to nominate any officers he thought fit to the commands vacated by the unfortunate issue of the battle of Retch, and to take up what cantonments he pleased in the territories of His Catholic Majesty. He also sent him money for his necessities; but this Turenne refused, as he would not work for the liberation of the French Princes by the means of Spanish gold. The Archduke and Fuensaldaña afterwards had a conference with the Viscount at Namur on the general state of affairs. 1650.

Turenne's reflection on his loss of the battle.

The battle of Retch was a complete overthrow;—1200 men perished in the field, and 3000 were made prisoners, and Turenne had the mortification to lose this battle to his personal enemy, the great Cardinal, who in fact commanded on the field, and, notwithstanding a fit of the gout, charged himself at the head of the Royal

1651. Guard. Immediately after the victory Mazarin repaired to Paris, to begin the New Year with the *éclat* of a conqueror. During Turenne's stay at Montmedi he had frequent opportunities of conference with Madame de Longueville in his paternal home, at Stenay, where they both received accounts from Paris which renewed their hopes that the release of Condé was approaching. In talking over his late misfortune, some one asked him how it was that he—so great a General—should have experienced two such disasters as the battles of Mariendahl and Retch. The Viscount candidly replied, "Par ma propre faute." To speak openly, he said, "I yielded weakly to the importunities of my cavalry officers, in allowing them, at considerable risk, to batten in the rich pastures away from Mariendahl; and I fell into the defeat at Retch by trusting too implicitly to the promises of my friend the Governor, that he would hold out the place to the utmost. I was in the first instance too facile, and in the second too credulous. "Mais quand un homme n'a point fait de fautes à la guerre, il ne l'a pas fait longtems."

The Prince de Condé is transferred from Marcoussi to Havre: fall of Mazarin: liberation of the Prince, Feb. 13.

When Bordeaux opened her gates to the Royal army on the 29th of the previous December, the Princess de Condé and her son, the Duc d'Enghien, had made their peace with the Court on the assurance that Condé should be set at liberty. But Mazarin, in the arrogance of his success, had evaded the spirit of the treaty, and merely changed the Prince's place of imprisonment from Marcoussi to Havre, where he hoped he would rest more securely confined. By the intrigues of Cardinal de Retz with Gaston Duke of Orleans, however, the discontents of the Parliament of Paris gained sufficient force to oblige the Cardinal Mazarin to yield up his power; the first consequence of which was, that the Prince obtained his liberty, on the 13th February, 1651. On this Condé's sister, the Duchesse de Longueville, quitted Stenay, where Turenne immediately took up his residence.

Although Madame the sister, and the Maréchal the friend, of Condé had now accomplished the object of their alliance, yet the Viscount was in no hurry to follow her to Paris. He felt that their common interest had now ceased, and it became him to consider how his own honour was affected at this juncture of a truce in affairs. He had rendered himself the ally of Spain, and it became his duty to labour in the interests of peace to satisfy the good intelligence that had reigned throughout their league between the Spaniards and himself. He wrote to the Archduke, that he would not lay down his commission until France offered Spain just and reasonable propositions of peace. The party in the ascendant at the French Court had required that a negotiator should be sent down with this object; and M. de Croissi, Councillor of the Parliament, arrived at Stenay with a letter from the King to the Maréchal himself, offering him a free and ample pardon on condition of his return to the Royal allegiance; and this was followed, in a few days, by a voluntary obligation on the part of Louis to give back to the Maréchal's brother, the Duc de Bouillon, the lands that had been agreed upon in exchange for Sedan. The Viscount, however flattered by these personal condescensions, pressed the opening of negotiations with Spain; and while De Croissi remained at Stenay, Friquet arrived there at his solicitation, on the part of the Archduke. The French King offered, by way of preliminary, to quit Catalonia, and to break off the affairs of Portugal, and to send the Duke of Orleans to the frontier with full powers to conclude a treaty. But the King of Spain refused to accept these conditions; and Turenne, after spending two months in endeavouring to bring about a peace, considered himself absolved from his engagements, and on the 1st May repaired to Paris, which he entered *à l'inconnu*. The Prince de Condé, however, as soon as he heard of his arrival, sent to receive him, and invited him to

1651.

The King offers his pardon to Turenne, who holds back with a view to a treaty with Spain: he returns to Paris.

1651. the Louvre; where he was made much of at the Hôtel de Longueville.

Turenne's character contrasted with that of Condé: reception of the former by the Court.

The characters of Turenne and Condé were not at all formed for mutual friendship. The Maréchal had lived too intimately with the Prince, both as comrade and companion, to be ignorant of his impetuous and selfish temper; and he was not at all inclined to give in to the urgent desire of the sister, to unite himself for good or evil with the party La Fronde. He thought he had sufficiently satisfied friendship by the part he had taken to obtain his release; and with openness and candour he received all the approaches of the party with politeness, but showed without any disguise, that, having accomplished the release of the Princes and the exile of Mazarin, he had no other political object to desire. There is no reason whatever to doubt that Turenne was of a most loyal mind, and that he had been led to take part against the King very much against his real inclinations; and was fully convinced of the impropriety of taking an open part against the Court, which his sagacity convinced him was rather to gratify personal interests and animosities than for any public object. He was not, however, shone upon by the sun at Court; he went over to the palace, but he was so coldly received by Anne of Austria, that he did not pay Her Majesty a second visit.

Turenne withstands the solicitations of Condé.

When the Prince quitted Paris, and retired to St. Maur upon the alarm that, through the intrigues of the Coadjutor, he ran the risk of a second imprisonment, Turenne visited him there, and in a long walk together in the park resisted the earnest appeals of Condé to join him in the new resistance he then contemplated against the Court; and in the subsequent intrigues that surrounded the Prince and the Court, the Viscount resolutely avoided their influence.

Coronation of Louis XIV., Sept. 5: renewal

On the 5th September, 1651, Louis XIV. went in formal state to the Parliament of Paris, and took on himself the duties of the Crown, having attained the

fourteenth year of his age. The only Prince of the Blood Royal who absented himself from this important ceremony was the Prince de Condé, who had in truth already repaired to his Château de Montrond with his family and his friends; and under the influence of his fiery sister, Madame de Longueville, the civil war was here about to be renewed. He unfurled the flag of resistance on the 22nd September; and on the 30th January, 1652, Cardinal Mazarin returned to power and favour, and joined the army and the Court at Poitiers at the head of 15,000 or 16,000 men; and it was to take the command of this new Royal army, which carried for its distinction *l'écharpe verte*, that Maréchal de Turenne now joined the Court on the 2nd February, and prepared to crush the rebellion of his old associate.

1651. — of the Civil War by Condé: Turenne takes the command of the Royal army, February 2.

A little difficulty occurred at the outset in regard to the pre-eminence of command betwêen Turenne and D'Hocquincourt. The former was ten years senior in the service to the latter, but the order of precedence in loyalty was just the reverse. The Queen Regent suggested a division or alternation of command; but the Viscount, like our Nelson, when he wrote to Collingwood in those noble terms, "You and I, my dear Coll., can have one sole object—the good of our country," assured Her Majesty that he would serve under D'Hocquincourt, or with him, just as the Maréchal pleased; nevertheless, wherever he was placed in any army, his native energy and forethought gave him the ascendant. The King was coming down from Paris to the army, and, his line of march remounting the Loire, crossed the river by the bridge of Gien. But His Majesty must pass by the bridge of Gergeau: and the Viscount reflected that it was needful to secure this point, or the Court might be surprised on the march; and with such men as he could collect he made his way there to meet the King. He had scarcely reached the spot, from whence he heard that His Majesty was already within six or seven

Turenne routs the insurgents at Gergeau.

1652. leagues, when four battalions and some cavalry of the enemy, under Baron Sirot, appeared in the offing on the opposite side of the river, and took possession of the Faubourg of Gergeau and the end of the bridge. He instantly sent back to his brother Maréchal to bring up more strength, and commenced throwing up barricades to prevent the enemy's passage, which fortunately imposed upon them; and the Court passed by in safety, while the bridge was secured, the assailants routed, and the Baron who commanded killed on the spot. The Queen, on seeing Turenne, told him "qu'il venait de sauver l'Etat;" but he modestly replied, "Ce qui s'est passé á Gergeau n'est pas de grande considération.

Condé surprises the Royalists at Rhenau, 3rd April.

The rebel camp, placed on the banks of the Loire, at Lorris, near Montargis, was sufficiently alarming from the strength of its numbers. M. de Nemours had brought 6000 men out of Flanders; M. de Beaufort had 8000; and now Condé, having quitted Guyenne at the end of March, was advancing by forced marches, night and day, with 6000 or 7000 foot and 5000 horse. The Royal army was at this time divided into two portions, for the necessities of maintenance—D'Hocquincourt was at Rhenau, and Turenne at Briare. The latter had gone over to dine with his colleague, in order to impart to him the information he had received of the Prince's march, and to urge him to concentrate the army; after which he returned to his camp. The same night, the 3rd April, the quarters at Rhenau were attacked with a vigour that overcame all resistance, and some of the fugitives brought word of it to the Viscount, who immediately carried his wing to the assistance of his colleague, saying, "M. le Prince est arrivé, je le sais; c'est lui qui commande cette armée." Turenne found the enemy in the midst of the soldiers' quarters, of which he had already pillaged and burned five, one after the other, while D'Hocquincourt was shut up in Rhenau. The situation of the Viscount was distressing enough.

He knew his colleague would impute the blame to him; and as he had so lately acted with the Prince in the former rebellion, it might be insinuated that he had still a "liaison secrette avec S. A. R." Moreover, he had the whole of the enemy's force now on his hands. He was, under the circumstances, counselled to fall back on Gien; but he felt the impolicy of thus exposing the Court to a fresh disaster, and resolutely retorted, "Il faut vaincre ou périr ici." He had but 4000 men; but in the night he selected a position, and drew them up on a level ground, where he rested his right on a wood, and his left on the marsh, or Mer de la Bouzinière, and where his front was only accessible by a *petite chaussée*, on which an assailant could but approach in file. Condé, he knew, had 14,000 men; nevertheless in this strong position he sent word to the King "que S M. peut rester in Gien sans rien craindre." At daybreak the Prince withdrew from any further dealing with Monsieur d'Hocquincourt, and marched right down upon the wood; which he hesitated so long to attack, that Turenne thought he was marching to turn the position. He accordingly feigned to withdraw, at the same time leaving his guns in battery to command the chaussée. Condé, in the height of his success, was blinded by this manœuvre, and pushed on boldly after him, upon the road; on which the guns, at the proper moment, opened upon him with fearful execution. The Prince saw his error, and put off the further attack for the day; and before night the fugitives of D'Hocquincourt's army as well as the Maréchal himself, and every soldier that could be spared from Gien, were sent up; so that on the following morning Turenne showed an imposing front; and Condé withdrew his army to Chatillon, and hastened himself to Paris, where he was glad "to hide his diminished head." The Court overwhelmed Turenne with honour and compliments: the Queen Mother assuring him "qu'il venait de remettre une seconde fois la couronne

1652.

Condé signally defeated by Turenne.

1652. sur la tête de son fils." All the blame of the affair was now thrown with little mercy on the head of D'Hocquincourt, for the negligence he had shown in taking up such scattered quarters; and it was Turenne who generously came to the aid of his colleague, to save him from a public reprimand.

Turenne skilfully interposes the Royal army between Paris and that of the rebels.

When Condé quitted his army for Paris, he left the command of it to the Count de Tavannes. Turenne considered this an opportune moment to adopt a movement for which a temporary commander was not likely to be prepared, and resolved, by an able manœuvre, to throw the King's army between the rebel army and the capital, to intercept the levies that were expected to reinforce it from Paris, and to cut off in a great degree the support of this force to the designs of the enemy's party. Accordingly the Court and the army, marching by the banks of the Yonne, and giving a wide berth on Montargis, where the rebel army lay, crossed the river at Moret, and from thence crossing the forest at Fontainebleau, reached La Ferté an hour before Tavannes could attain it by moving (as soon as he heard of Turenne's march) by the shorter way by Melun and Corbeil. The rebel army accordingly pulled up at Etampes, while that of the King encamped at Châtres. The Maréchal endeavoured to persuade the Court to allow him to cover its march on the capital, where he thought the presence of the King would imdiately crush the party of Gaston D'Orléans and the Prince de Condé be at once deprived of his army. But the wily Cardinal did not think matters yet ripe for such a consummation, and counselled Louis XIV. to establish his Court at St. Germain-en-Laye.

Turenne routs Tavannes at Etampes, May 4.

Accounts came in from the rebel army that Mademoiselle de Montpensier had arrived in their camp at Etampes; and after a day or two she sent to Turenne to demand a passport to go forward to Paris. The Maréchal granted her request; but thinking that the officers of the army would accompany the Princess,

and that the moment might be favourable to fall upon it, ordered his forces to march on the night of the 4th May, then moving with great silence and expedition he came in face of the enemy as they were drawn up on the heights before Etampes to do honour to the Princess on her departure. The Royal army appeared unexpectedly; nevertheless they were inferior in numbers, and it was somewhat hazardous to attack. But Tavannes had been instructed not to come to any engagement, and therefore withdrew his forces in haste within the town. Turenne therefore reconnoitred Etampes, which is a considerable place, having three faubourgs; but it lay low, and was commanded by heights from which the Maréchal could closely perceive how these were occupied, and he resolved to attack that which lay towards the approach from Orleans, where nine regiments of infantry, with 500 horse, were posted behind a small rivulet, although evidently in considerable disarray. The troops were therefore ordered forward, and the guns opened upon the entrenchments; when, after a sharp contest, which lasted three hours, the two Maréchaux got firm possession of this faubourg, killed 900, and took 1700 prisoners. A barricade was immediately thrown up to cut off all succour from the town, which was held firmly by De Gadagne against all the endeavours of Tavannes to send succour to the attacked. The rebels, however, might have made their adversaries repent of their somewhat rash act, if, instead of following their rearguard when Turenne marched away, they had thrown themselves in force across their line of march on St. Etréchi. However no attempt of the kind was made, and Turenne returned with his prisoners to his camp at Châtres. 1652.

The Duke of York joins Turenne as a volunteer.

At this time, James Duke of York, at the age of eighteen years, eager to obtain military distinction, solicited the permission of Turenne to learn the art of war under his standard as a volunteer, and was received in the Maréchal's camp at Châtres with every distinc-

1652. tion. His Royal Highness was accompanied by Colonels Berkeley and Werden, as his aides-de-camp. The Count de Schomberg, afterwards the celebrated Maréchal, also served as a volunteer in this army, to learn the art of war under Maréchal de Turenne.

The Duc de Lorraine compels Turenne to raise the siege of Etampes, May.

The next consideration was how to starve out the enemy who had been left at Etampes, and who constituted almost all the available troops of the rebels, but who were now utterly cut off from any communication with Paris, or with the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé, who were still in the capital. The whole force in Etampes was 4000 infantry and 3000 horse. Accordingly Turenne sent to the Court at St. Germain and obtained from the King all the waggons and carriages belonging to the Court, and he loaded these with every kind of material of war that he required. On the 22nd May he advanced his whole army to within a league of the town, and commenced working a line of contravallation all round it at about the distance of musket shot. It was necessary, however, to have the cavalry constantly on the alert to restrain the sorties; and by great courage and perseverance the line was finished, which completely cut off the besieged from all ability to forage for supplies. Just at the moment, however, that the Maréchal thought to secure his prey, news was brought him that the Duke de Lorraine had again changed sides. This Prince, who had been despoiled of his estate, retained great animosity against the King of France, but had with consummate guile persuaded the Maréchal de la Ferté, who was Governor of Lorraine, that he was raising troops in the cause of the King; but he had now brought up 10,000 men to the army of the Princes; and Turenne was obliged, in consequence, to raise the siege of Etampes and permit De Lorraine to establish his camp at Charenton on the Seine.

Matters are accommo-

However, the Viscount was not disposed to permit that the two armies should form a junction, and was

taking measures to prevent this, when it came out that the Prince de Lorraine had objects of his own in view, and that he was still quite open to receive negotiations. Charles II., King of England, who was at Paris, was accordingly sent for to bring about a truce; and he forthwith repaired to the Lorrainers' camp, attended by Lords Jermyn, Rochester, and Crofts. However, it required the presence of Turenne, with his army, to enforce the conditions which were demanded of the Duke, which were—that he should withdraw from the French territory within a fortnight. These terms were at length accepted and signed on the 14th June, and hostages exchanged. Within one hour afterwards, the Lorrainers marched out of their camp, and Turenne took possession of it just as the rebel forces from Etampes appeared in sight.

1652. — dated between the Lorrainers and the Royalists through the intervention of Charles II. of England.

During the negotiations, however, the Prince de Condé was enabled to recover the command of his army, which, after the departure of the Lorrainers, had retired to Villejuy. He found his force reduced to 6000 men; but having secured the bridge on the Seine at St. Cloud, he considered himself safe. Turenne rested his army, until the 21st June, at Villeneuve St. George. But, still resolved to scatter the rebel army, he repaired in person to the Court, and persuaded the Cardinal to call in to his aid the army that Maréchal de la Ferté commanded in Lorraine, which, in consequence of the treaty with the Duke, had now become disposable. While expecting this force to reinforce his army, the Viscount passed the Marne at Lagny on the 1st July, and encamped at Dammartin to hinder the advance of a Spanish force which was marching down the Oise out of Flanders. In a few days the Maréchal de la Ferté arrived with 3000 men, to reinforce Turenne, so that his army now numbered 10,000 or 11,000 men. The Court had in the meanwhile moved from Melun to St. Denis, where boats had been brought up from Pontoise, in

Turenne defeats Condé at La Chapelle.

1652. order to throw a bridge across the Seine at Epinay. This proceeding Condé vigorously strove to prevent, until he found it impossible to resist any longer in the face of an army of double his own strength; and accordingly in the night he marched across the bridge of St. Cloud, which he destroyed; and thence, passing through the Bois de Boulogne, he endeavoured to cross Paris by the Porte de la Conférence, in order to reach Charenton at the confluence of the Seine and Marne, where he intended to entrench himself. But the Parisians, with whom the Prince was never a favourite, closed the avenue against him. Turenne got information of this in the middle of the night, almost as soon as the gate had been closed; and, mounting on horseback, he ordered his army to follow him, and the Maréchal de la Ferté to take charge of it while he repaired to St. Denis to confer with the Cardinal. He then rejoined his troops at La Chapelle, when, as soon as he came in sight of the Prince's troops, he fell upon them with his musketeers and cavalry, and pushed them before him to the Hospital St. Louis, where he cut the rear guard of the rebels to pieces.

Deadly conflict in the Faubourg St. Antoine.

The vigour of Turenne's attack induced Condé to give up all hope of reaching Charenton; and as he marched across the Faubourg St. Antoine, he observed the preparations that had been made by the Parisians against the apprehended attack of M. de Lorraine. Barricades had been thrown across many of the most advanced streets, and some of the houses were loopholed; so that M. le Prince resolved to establish his head quarters in the open space adjoining the Porte St. Antoine, and to recall his advance, which had proceeded on their march to Charenton. The Faubourg that Condé proposed to defend against the King's army was intersected by three main streets,—the Rue de Charenton, leading to the high road to that place; the Grande Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine; and the

Rue de Charonne, leading to that village. All these three streets unite at the gate, which itself abutted upon the famous Bastile, whose ditch was a small branch of the Seine. The King, the Cardinal, and the Court, took post on a height called the "Hauteur de Charonne," from whence, as in an amphitheatre, they could witness the whole extent of the coming conflict. 1652.

The Viscount was urged by the impatience of the courtiers to hasten the attack; which somewhat injured his dispositions. He ordered three columns to penetrate by the several approaches described above. The Marquis de St. Mêgrin led the right column of attack, and the Marquis de Navailles the left. The former, at the head of the guards and a regiment of the marine, with great bravery stormed the defences, carried them, and established himself in the Rue de Charonne. But the Prince, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, came down upon the head of the column, and killed M. de St. Mêgrin, who led it. M. de Mancini, nephew of the Cardinal, with many volunteers, who pressed forward somewhat too eagerly, and impeded the re-formation, were overcome by the vigour of the onset, and driven back to the barricades they had surmounted, but which the presence of the Maréchal prevented from being retaken. While this lasted, the column led by De Navailles, consisting of the regiments of Turenne, Picardie, Plessis-Praslin, Douglas, and d'Uxelles, forced the barricades of the road to Charenton, and established themselves in the garden of Rambouillet. By this time the Maréchal de la Ferté had come up with the main body of the army, and the cannon, without which, had the Viscount been left to himself, he would never have commenced the attack. He had, however, but six guns, which were now placed in position near the windmill, and opened upon the central and principal street, which was vacated by the rebels at the first fire, and the houses into which

1652. they fled, which were ill-built structures, were soon riddled by the cannon balls. Nevertheless the rebels defended themselves resolutely, and opened a deadly fire from the windows, and even from the holes in the walls. The Maréchal, however, led forward a new attack, and soon emptied these houses of their defenders, and forced them to retire beyond the Abbey of St. Antoine. In the mean time, notwithstanding the exertions of M. de Beaufort and M. de Nemours[5], to retake the barricades from the Royal troops, the rebels were driven back to the very Place d'Armes where the Prince had established his head quarters.

At this point, however, a new ally appeared, to protect and save Condé. The Cardinal de Retz, a perfect professor in the arts of intrigue, although delighted in his heart to witness any misfortune that humbled the pride of the Prince, was assisted by the Grande Mademoiselle daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, who commanded within the capital, to order the gates to be opened to admit the rebel forces, and to open the guns of the Bastile upon the Royal troops. This bold and decisive step is reported to have been directed by the Princess herself. Under this protecting fire Condé entered and traversed Paris, leading his army through the Faubourg St. Victor towards the Salpêtrière, where he immediately entrenched a new camp between the Seine and the little brook of the Gobelins. Such was the battle of the Faubourg St. Antoine, in which the fierce impetuosity of Condé and the calm self-possession of

[5] This was an age of jests,—The Duke de Rochefoucauld, who was a notorious favourite of the Duchess de Longueville, received a shot in the eye in this attack, that nearly blinded him; whereupon this parody of a popular opera of the day was made in ridicule:—

"Pour ce cœur inconstant
Qu'enfin je connois mieux,
J'ai fait la queue aux rois,
J'en ai perdu mes yeux."

Turenne were most conspicuously opposed. Of the Prince's personal friends and followers only three were unhurt; and Condé, who led the defence in person, was one of the three. On this the Cardinal de Retz, who hated him, said, "M. le Prince était plus couvert de gloire que de blessures." Turenne, thwarted by the unexpected result of the intrigues going on within the capital, recommended the King and the Court to retire upon St. Denis, whither he also himself repaired, leaving his army to retain possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine. 1652.

Condé within the capital was again the hero of the hour; but, with the fervour of his ambitious character, he was impatient of the authority of the very citizens who had saved him, and, in concert with others who were as ready to be led by violence as himself, they now prepared a "coup d'Etat populaire," the result of which affected immensely the politics of the civil war. On the 4th, two days after the conflict, a council was held at the Hôtel de Ville, which was attended by D'Orleans and Condé, who pretended to avail themselves of this opportunity to thank the citizens for their assistance on the day of the battle. The princes after that act professed to withdraw, but excited the mob to attack the Assembly, set fire to the building, and raise such an uproar, that, in the midst of it, a decree was obtained appointing the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom and the Prince de Condé Commander-in-chief of the armies, until Cardinal Mazarin should be dismissed from the Ministry. This decision was confirmed at a second meeting of the Council on the 13th July, when, D'Orléans and Condé being present, 143 members affirmed it by a majority of five voices.

Attack by Condé's party on the Hôtel de Ville: the Assembly demands the dismissal of Mazarin, July 13.

The Court was in despair and in confusion at this intelligence, and thought only of withdrawing from St. Denis to some distant place of safety, so that on the 15th July the decision was formally taken by the Cardinal to carry the King to Lyons

1652. under an escort of 2000 men. Turenne heard of this resolution from his brother the Duc de Bouillon, while at the camp, and in the course of the same day repaired to St. Denis. He himself represented to Mazarin that the retreat of the Court to Lyons would infallibly occasion the loss of all the strong places still held in Picardy, Champagne, and Lorraine, who would forthwith endeavour to return to the allegiance of the Spaniards. He suggested as a better expedient, that the King should go to Pontoise with his guard, while the army marched to Compiègne, where they would hold against the Spanish army any advance upon Paris that Fuensaldaña might be urged to make. These reasons were considered conclusive, and the advice of the Viscount was acted upon immediately. The army marched on the 17th to Chauni, which the Duke d'Elbeuf held for the Spaniards with some 700 or 800 horse, but forthwith abandoned on the approach of the Royal army; and, shortly afterwards, the Spanish General Fuensaldaña, recognizing the military considerations that had brought Turenne to his front, resolved to return to Flanders, merely leaving a corps of observation on the frontier.

The Court removes to Pontoise: death of the Duc de Bouillon: the King grants an amnesty, 26th Aug.

The King, being now at his legal majority, acted with something of the rigour of his later years, when he issued a decree forbidding the Parliament to meet again at Paris, and summoning them to attend the Court at Pontoise. Accordingly, on the 6th August, a considerable number obeyed the summons; but the larger number refused. It happened that at this very moment the Duc de Bouillon, brother of Maréchal de Turenne, expired of a fever at the Court. He had rendered himself of late so considerable in council, that he had been already appointed to the surintendance générale des finances, and the Cardinal even began to feel some jealousy of his influence with the Queen Mother. The Duc de Bouillon's death, however, removing all apprehensions of ultimate loss to his power, Mazarin

had the prudence to advise the King to allow him again to withdraw from the ministry in order to bring about an accommodation with the Parliament, and thus remove all further excuse for a civil war. The immediate consequence of this was an amnesty publicly granted by the King on the 26th August, excluding, however, D'Orleans and Condé; and this decree was registered by the Parliament. 1652.

Turenne and Condé fix their opposing camps near Paris.

On the 5th September the army of the King marched towards Brie-Comte-Robert, crossing the Marne at Lagni. Here he found the troops of Monsieur de Lorraine marching to unite with the Princes at Paris, although at this moment Turenne knew he was in negotiation with the King for a complete neutrality. Accordingly, without a moment's delay or hesitation, the Maréchal marched past the Lorrainers, and took up his camp at Villeneuve St. George. Here the Maréchal de la Ferté joined him with infantry and guns; and Turenne immediately ordered all the boats on the river to be secured, that he might have the means at hand of crossing the Seine. Two bridges were forthwith prepared; and by means of them the foragers were enabled to supply the army with bread, which was reduced to only five days' consumption in possession, and to obtain hay and corn for the cavalry, who had been without any since their arrival. Entrenchments were likewise thrown up around the camp, which abutted on its right on the Seine, and a wood occupied by chasseurs on the left. While the King's army was thus occupied for its better security, the Prince de Condé came forth from Paris, and joined the Lorrainers near Ablon; and the combined forces forthwith entrenched themselves in a camp within cannon-shot of the Royal army. The rebel army was now the more numerous of the two, and, with Paris in its power, the better supplied in every way. But the Viscount did not sleep for a moment. In order to prevent his supplies

1652. from being curtailed on the side of Corbeil, he seized and got possession of the Château d'Ablon, which covered the operations of his foragers almost over the entire district between Orleans and Paris. Condé had hoped to starve out the King's army, but by this means it remained in its camp in full efficiency for five or six weeks, strongly entrenched and unassailable.

Public ferment in Paris: Condé falls sick: Turenne marches to Senlis.

In this interval the population of the great capital fomented with indescribable intrigues, then the Cardinal de Retz aspired to seize the power and influence that Cardinal Mazarin had for the moment lost by his absence. The Court had removed again to Compiègne, and a deputation was sent there by the rebel Government, which the King, with dignified haughtiness, refused to receive, even from the part of his uncle, the Duc d'Orleans. On the 14th September De Retz himself led out a deputation of the clergy of Paris. This was received, but with coldness; and they carried back with them to the city a written answer. In the mean while the citizens resented every day more and more the violence of the rebel troops, and became more and more impatient to reconcile themselves with the Court. Under these circumstances the Queen Mother thought that it would best advance a reconciliation with the capital to withdraw the troops of the King from its gates; and the Viscount was consulted as to the means of doing this with safety, since the advance of autumn had begun to render the operations of war hazardous. Turenne learnt that Condé had gone back to Paris in bad health; and he therefore felt the less risk in putting his army in the field with only M. de Lorraine to oppose him. Accordingly in the night of the 4th October he defiled in great silence along the river side, and before daybreak reached Corbeil without interruption. For greater caution, although the enemy had not discovered his retreat, he secured his army from a surprise by palisades and barricades, and

allowed them to rest here that night. The next day he continued his march in two columns, taking such precautions in respect to discipline and diligence, that if the enemy had overtaken them they could readily have deployed to receive them; and in this way they marched to Meaux, where they crossed the Marne, and thence by Mort-l'Evêque to the neighbourhood of Senlis. 1652.

The Court, by Turenne's advice, returns to Paris.

This successful withdrawal of the King's army in the face of the rebels and Lorrainers completely destroyed the little love and respect which yet remained to this army from the Parisians; and the Prince de Condé hastened to withdraw all his forces to Laon, where Fuensaldaña rested with the entire Spanish army. As soon as the capital was relieved from the presence of any armed force, the Royalists raised their heads, and a large body of them repaired to the Court to implore the King not to delay a moment in returning to Paris. Turenne on the 14th October personally witnessed the passage of Condé's army from Courteuil in their way to Champagne, and immediately repaired to influence the King to take this step. He represented to His Majesty how desirable it was to avail himself of this moment of disgust for the Frondeurs, and to reanimate the enthusiasm of his own army, which had suffered many privations, the recollection of which the enjoyments of the capital would soon effectually obliterate. Persuaded by these reasons, the Court removed first to Saint Germain, where it rested a few days, and on the 21st October started for the capital. On nearing the Bois de Boulogne, however, an alarm, intentional or otherwise, was raised, and the King, the Queen Mother, and the Maréchaux de Vellerin and Du Plessis held a consultation about the King's carriage, and agreed that they had better not attempt this dangerous risk to the person of the King. The Viscount alone adhered firmly to his first opinion, and implored them to go forward; for that to go back at such a moment would be ten times more prejudicial

1652. to the Royal cause than the attempt could be, since such an evidence of fear would unite every adversary against the Crown. Anne of Austria, with her hereditary courage and boldness of character, acceded to the reasons urged by Turenne; and Louis XIV., mounting his horse, and placing himself at the head of his guards, entered the city by the Porte St. Honoré, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, and took up his residence in the Louvre.

Turenne takes Bar le Duc: successful close of the campaign.

The Maréchal remained at the Court until he saw that the Royal authority was substantially established; when he returned to the army on the 30th October, hoping to prevent the enemy from quietly assuming their winter quarters, and to take advantage of the favourable moment to augment the forces of the King; for Turenne had not above 10,000 men under arms, and the combined forces counted at least 25,000 men. The Maréchal, however, marched straight towards the enemy from the side of Lorraine; and, crossing the Meuse, behind which river they were posted, at Vaucouleurs, he obliged them to decamp. On the 2nd November the Viscount rested at Balieux; on the 5th he crossed the Marne at Dizy, near Epernay; and on the 16th he reached Vitry, regulating his own course by the movements of his enemies. At St. Mihel he had a disagreement with the Maréchal de la Ferté, because he had supplied his army with provisions within the districts of his government of Nanci; and this "aigreur" was somewhat increased by his undertaking the siege of Bar le Duc, while De la Ferté had sat down before Ligny, Voyd, and Commerci; for these places, being feebly garrisoned, made little resistance. Condé, retiring towards the frontiers of Champagne, captured Chateau-Porcien, Rhetel, Monson, and Manehoult; but suddenly he turned aside to gain Damvilliers, in Luxemburg; and Turenne, having thus driven him out of the kingdom, marched to Stamville; where on the 25th November he heard that Fuensaldaña

had separated his army from that of Condé. Turenne now resolved to take advantage of this state of affairs to regain possession of Bar. He had only field guns with him; but he boldly carried them forward within half range of the walls, and before sunrise he opened fire, and effected a breach. The difficulty, however, still remained of getting across the wet ditch, which was too broad to be sensibly filled with the rubbish of the breached wall. However, the energy and genius of the Viscount overcame most obstacles. He sought out ladders, planks, barrels, &c., from the neighbouring farms, and on them his troops dashed at the breach, from which the defenders fled, and were driven by the besiegers through the upper town into the castle. The same day Cardinal Mazarin arrived in Turenne's camp with reinforcements, under the command of Maréchal d'Aumont and the Duke d'Elbeuf. Information also came in, that Condé was advancing by the Vaubecourt road to the relief of the castle; and it was agreed that De la Ferté should march with 3000 infantry and all the cavalry to meet the Prince, while the rest of the army continued the siege. The Viscount sent to urge De la Ferté to attack vigorously, for the rebels had only just reached the town, and were sure to be plundering and getting drunk, and necessarily in great disorder. But De la Ferté not liking the interference, and jealous at all times of Turenne, instead of obeying orders, came back to the camp, to desire the advice of the Cardinal; and before he could return to his command Condé had thought fit to set fire to the place and decamp. After this the castle of Bar le Duc surrendered in a few days. Ligny shortly afterwards capitulated; and, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, the campaign terminated gloriously; and on the representation of the Maréchal that it would hazard the destruction of the entire army to continue operations, he established his quarters on the banks of the river Aisne on the 1st January, 1653. 1652.

1653. This winter campaign continued, notwithstanding the severity of the season, and Château Porcien and Vervins were besieged and taken: so that it was the 3rd February, 1653, before Turenne quitted his command and repaired to Paris, where he went to be married. His wife was Charlotte Caumont, only daughter and heiress of the Duke de la Force, a Protestant peer, and Maréchal of France, who had had the good fortune to escape the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The panegyrist of her mind and temper, her delicacy, modesty, simplicity, and sweetness, says not a word of her person. There was no issue of the marriage.

Turenne's marriage.

He returns to his command: Condé is sentenced to death by the Parliament, 27th March.

Cardinal Mazarin, who, as we have seen, arrived at Turenne's army when occupied with the siege of Bar, remained with it until the operations before Vervins were concluded, when he repaired to Paris, where he was received with open favour by the King, who conducted him in his own carriage through the city. Voltaire says, "Louis XIV. le reçut comme un père, et le peuple comme un maître." He resumed his charges as before, and in recomposing the Council of State gave Maréchal de Turenne a prominent place among the new councillors. Their first act was to determine that the Viscount should return to his command, and that a vigorous effort should be made to crush the rebellion in Guyenne. The Parliament, rendered again obsequious to the Royal mandate, issued a decree on the 27th March, condemning the Prince de Condé to death "par contumace."

Turenne takes Rhetel, 8th July: avoids a conflict with the Spaniards.

The preceding campaign had lasted so far into the spring, that it was late in the year 1653 before it was renewed. It was near the end of the month of June when Turenne sat down before Rhetel on the river Aisne, and established his head quarters three leagues from the place. The enemies had two armies in the field—one quartered at Luxemburg, and the other behind the Sambre, at La Capelle. The Maréchal saw that these two corps d'armée could not

unite any where but after an interval of four or five days; and, as Rhetel had a garrison of less than 1000 men, he thought he could accomplish its capture without interruption: and in effect it only resisted for three days, and capitulated on the 8th July. The Royal army then marched towards La Capelle, and were gratified by the arrival of the King and the Cardinal, who joined them on their march on the 25th, and took up their quarters at Ribemont, while the two armies lay within a quarter of a league from each other. The King held a council accordingly as to the course best to be pursued, for Turenne had but 7000 foot and 10,000 horse, to oppose 30,000 Spaniards well supplied with artillery and every necessary. They counted 16,000 infantry, 11,000 cavalry, and 30 or 40 guns. Some advised that the Royal army should be divided, cavalry and infantry, into the strong places where the horse could be rendered available to prevent the foragers of the enemy from obtaining supplies. Others recommended that the army should be held together, in order to dispute the passage of the rivers that intervened between them and the capital. The Viscount differed in opinion from both, and considered that the army should on no account be divided; which he thought might altogether imperil its existence. But he showed that the great disproportion of infantry rendered it impossible to dispute the passage of rivers against such a preponderance of assailants. He considered it best to keep the army together, and to follow their opponents wherever they might go, and observe them as closely as possible without a battle; so as to prevent their undertaking any operation of consequence, for fear of their being deprived of their supplies. As this advice was the one adopted, the King, who saw no prospect of excitement from such a campaign, returned with the Cardinal to Paris. 1653.

The enemy broke up on the 1st August; and enter- Rocroi in-

1653. — vested by the Spaniards, 1st Sept.

ing France between the valley of the Somme on the right, and that of the Oise on the left of their line of march, they cantoned between St. Quentin and Ham, and thence on Chauni. This movement threatened Compiègne, Pontoise, Creil, and Porte Ste. Maxence, and indeed, in its ultimate course, Paris itself. Turenne marched by the bank of the Somme, but would not cross that river until he saw what course Condé would take. On the 3rd August the Maréchal was at Fayence, and on the 5th towards Noyon; while the enemy marched from Chauni to Roye, which latter place they besieged; Turenne looking on, wondering what they might do next, but feeling indifferent as to the loss of the few men who composed the garrison. On the 9th they appeared to have the intention of besieging Corbie; and the Viscount sent M. de Schomberg with a detachment of 150 horse and 100 foot to defend it. The scouts brought intelligence that, in order to undertake this siege, a great convoy of all things needful was about to be sent up to the Spaniards out of Cambray. Turenne, in the look out for it, separated himself from his baggage, passed the Somme at Ham, and marched all night to intercept the convoy at Bapaume; but before mid-day he received advice that it had passed him. He therefore thought it prudent to take up a position on the 13th near Mont St. Quentin, at a village called Tincour, where the ravine of Roiset protected his right, and a scarped hill, well covered with wood, his left. Here he threw up five or six redans, in which he placed the thirty guns in security; all which in two hours rendered his army quite secure. Condé could not induce his Spaniards to attack the King's forces in this position; and accordingly for two or three days the opposing armies remained in presence, and contented themselves with occasional skirmishing and interchange of fire. On the 16th, at daybreak, there was a stir in the enemy's camp; and the Viscount,

uncertain what it might portend, sent the young Duke of York, who served on his staff, and a dozen gay officers, well mounted, to patrol into their camps. They boldly went in, up to the huts of the infantry, and before the rear-guard had quitted it; but they discovered that they were in order of march towards St. Quentin. With great decision Turenne detected their object; and despatched M. de Beaujeu, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, with a light detachment of cavalry and infantry, to march with all expedition, and throw themselves, before the enemy could arrive there, into Guise, which he thought it was the intention of Condé to besiege. Beaujeu fulfilled his allotted task so well, that he entered the place before M. Duras at the head of 3000 horse could invest it. Condé, seeing himself forestalled, turned aside to Coulaincourt, and Turenne, following up M. de Beaujeu's march, reached Ham; so that the river Somme just divided the two armies. After another delay of a fortnight, the Spanish army marched away, and on the 1st September sat down before Mouson and Rocroi, to lay siege to both places at once. 1653.

Close of the Civil War: Condé retires to Brussels.

After these two sieges, which lasted till the 27th September, nothing considerable occurred between the two armies. The Spaniards had the intention of laying siege to Bethune; but events at the other extremity of France altogether changed the prospects of the Court. The Duke de Condale, son to the Duke d'Epernon, had been sent to take the command of the Royal troops, to oppose Marsin, who commanded for Condé in Bordeaux; and the Duke de Vendôme ascended the Gironde with a squadron of ships. This combined attack thus threatened, alarmed the faction of the Ormée, whose influence was centered in Bordeaux, and who resolved to make terms with the King; and the Prince de Condé and the Prince de Conti finding themselves under the necessity of submitting to terms, the submission of the city was completed on

1653. — the 16th September. The rebellion of La Fronde was now at an end, and there was not a subject of any note in arms against their Sovereign in France, excepting a Prince of the Blood, and a few personal followers. The Prince de Condé, pronounced a traitor by public decree, was received by the Governor of the Netherlands at Brussels with all the honours accorded to the Archdukes of the House of Austria. Of his own act he made over to the enemies of his country all the places in France that had been taken by the rebels from the King, and was made Commander-in-Chief of the armies of Spain. Henceforth, therefore, we are to regard the enemy as including Condé and the Spaniards. The French troops, now set at liberty by the termination of the Civil War, enabled the King to take a vigorous offensive; and Turenne was directed to march to cover Picardy: but the campaign came to an early close under these altered circumstances.

1654. Arras besieged by the Spaniards, under Condé, July.

Before the armies took the field in 1654, Louis XIV. held his solemn coronation at Rheims, so that it was already the month of July before military operations commenced. On the 3rd of that month the Maréchal was startled by a sudden announcement that the Spaniards had quite unexpectedly advanced and laid siege to Arras. The siege was apparently somewhat of a sudden thought; information may have reached the Spaniards that the place was insufficiently garrisoned, or the siege of Stenay, which had been undertaken by Faber, had offended the Prince de Condé, for that town formed part of his possessions; and Turenne seemed resolved to have it. The Count de Mondejeu, who afterwards became Maréchal Schulemberg, a German who had been brought up in the family of the Viscount, was at this time Governor of Arras. Not expecting to be besieged, he had sent out his horse to form a flying detachment under De Bar, and these men were thus shut out of the place by the investment, so that the garrison was reduced to 2500 infantry and 100

cavalry. Turenne, however, contrived by considerable address, to throw in 500 or 600 horse before the 14th, when all further ingress was rendered impossible. 1654.

The Maréchal's army numbered about 14,000 men, the Spaniards 25,000; so that he prudently considered that it was better to defer operations against the besiegers until the time when they were in the height of the excitement of a siege, and until he could get up supplies, and be in a condition to act with some pertinacity as well as vigour; because he considered in his experience that the *morale* of a besieged force is more easily sustained at the commencement, than when resistance had become wearisome; and that when interference from without had commenced, it had always a bad effect within if it were diminished or altogether stopped, which, if undertaken inconsiderately, might be the result.

Turenne compels Condé to raise the siege of Arras.

The Viscount, having not only reconnoitered the lines of circumvallation thrown up by the besiegers, but also obtained information as to their occupation, discovered that they included four separate camps. The one to the north, where lay the Spaniards under Fuensaldaña, having the Lorrainers on the right and the Archduke with the Flemings on the left. The fourth, under the Prince de Condé, was directly opposite, towards the south, and across the road to St. Quentin. The Royal army, under the Maréchal D'Hocquincourt and De la Ferté, were ordered by Turenne to post themselves as close to the enemy's lines as possible. The consequence of which was, that many men were picked off by the musketeers, and it was urged that no amount of vigilance could prevent the danger of an attack from the works with little or no notice. The Viscount, however, knew with whom he had to deal, and that the Spaniards in their front had such inveterate habits of form that it would involve much detail before they could venture on any aggressive measure; moreover the river Scarpe covered the right of the position assumed;

1654. and as it was only bridged within the lines close to the city, there could not be any combined attack that could not be guarded against by vigilance; so that the respective corps d'armée were directed to fortify the ground in front of their respective camps.

The siege, when once commenced, was pursued with vigour; the trenches, having been opened on the night of the 14th, were pressed forward in spite of the most energetic opposition from the garrison; so that in seven weeks the besiegers made a lodgement on the counterscarp of the advanced demilune, and were on the point of capturing the adjoining hornwork. M. de Mondejeu, however, began to be urgent on the covering army to act for their assistance. The Viscount, however, knew that governors of besieged places are in the habit of "crying out before they are much hurt," and accordingly delayed operations till he received information that Stenay had fallen, and that the troops who had captured it were on march for the Royal Camp. Under these circumstances the 24th August was fixed for the attack of the lines. For the reasons that have been named, as well as from a belief that the defence was weakest at that point, it was resolved to storm near the junction of the two camps of Fuensaldaña and De Solis. The Abbey of St. Eloy, which lay detached, was occupied by a detachment of the enemy; and therefore was first secured. The preparations were then made for the assault; three false attacks being directed to be made, to assist the real one. Each soldier was supplied with fascines and such implements as were deemed necessary to remove the obstacles they expected to have to encounter; and the army moved in the greatest silence and order all through the night, and at break of day were so formed as to march in two long lines direct upon the face of the works. The first were rapidly assailed, the ditch crossed, and the palisades removed; and, with less opposition than was expected, they assaulted the second ramparts, and, placing

the white flag upon the top, crossed it successfully in several places. The Spaniards and Lorrainers, surprised and alarmed, made haste to flee; and Condé, seeing his flanks endangered, got his men together and joined the camp of the Archduke. They then concerted an attack upon the straggling conquerors, who were in search of plunder; but in a short time a marshalled phalanx, accompanied by guns, was seen to advance upon them. This had been prepared by the forethought of Turenne, who marched with it in person; and Condé soon saw that the game was up, and marched away, taking the road to Cambray, where he was joined by another division of the army, led by Marsin. 1654.

Composition of the Spanish force.

Turenne wounded in the siege.

The proverbial fortune of war was seen in this affair, as it may be seen in the boasted successes of every army. The camp of the besiegers was very extensive. It was intersected by the river Scarpe; and the *terre plein* in many places was occupied with works of contravallation, trenches, and field-works, facing the city of Arras. The enemy's army was composed of many nations,—Spanish, German, Flemish, French, Italians, and volunteers of many kinds. Treasure of all sorts was spread in the sight of the attackers; and personal conflicts to obtain it were every where going on. No wonder, then, that Maréchal Turenne has left this opinion in his "Mémoires:" "Il est certain que si M. le Prince eut pu mener quelques regimens d'infanterie avec sa cavalerie, qu'il eut obligé toute l'armée du Roi à se jetter dans Arras, tant la confusion était grande dès que l'on fut entré dans les lignes." But in truth the "épouvante était très-grande dans son armée." The alarm among such a heterogeneous body of men could not easily be restrained under the circumstances of surprise and flight; and it is a remarkable instance of the sterling qualities in the two principal leaders of the opposing armies, that Turenne could move against Condé in the midst of the confusion with a well-organized force, and that the Prince could assemble a considerable body, and march

1654. away out of the camp, and along the high road, in perfect order. The result was principally owing to the unyielding phalanx, against which the rebel forces tried to measure themselves in vain. More than sixty-three pieces of ordnance of all calibres, and much siege apparel, were found in the camp or in the siege batteries; and about 3000 men were either made prisoners or killed in the conflict. The King's troops lost few either killed or wounded, and no one of note. Turenne, however, had a horse killed under him, and received a contusion from a musket-ball in the arm.

Anecdote of Turenne. The Duke of York, in his "Mémoires," gives a characteristic anecdote of Turenne, evincing his constant forethought. "Peu de jours avant l'attaque, M. de Turenne ne perdait aucune occasion de s'entretenir avec les officiers de la manière dont il s'y fallait prendre, et de la résistance qu'on pourrait probablement trouver. Il les instruisait de ce qu'il fallait faire, suivant les différentes occasions et les accidens qui pourraient arriver; il leur recommanda surtout de tenir les soldats en bon ordre quand ils seraient entrés dans les lignes; de ne les point laisser avancer trop vîte, parceque ce serait le moment le plus chatouilleux et le tems de crise; d'observer une grande attention et une exacte discipline, y ayant plus de danger d'en être chassé qu'il n'y aurait de peine à y entrer, parcequ'il fallait s'attendre que toutes les forces ennemies des quartiers voisins du lieu qui serait forcé y tomberaient sur les attaquans; qu'il ne fallait point songer d'aller droit à la ville, qu'il fallait au contraire marcher le long de la ligne et en chasser les ennemis avant que d'aller aux ennemis." This reads something like the heroic speeches which ancient historians put into the mouths of their heroes. But however little these conversational addresses are made by leaders of troops, it may be predicated that they have their usefulness, and tend to good results.

The Court returns to The day after Arras was thus relieved, the Duke of York was despatched with 2000 horse to Peronne, to

escort the Court; and Louis XIV., and the Cardinal Minister, and a grand cortége, entered Arras, where they remained some days, while the army were cantoned in the abandoned huts of the Spaniards in the captured camp round about. But on the 31st August, when the army marched towards Cambray, the Court returned to Peronne; and shortly afterwards, as there was no appearance of further work of interest, the King returned to Paris, and the Maréchaux de la Ferté and D'Hocquincourt quitted the army; but Turenne, constant to his duty, kept the field, and on the 3rd September crossed the Scheldt at Thun St. Martin, where he threw a bridge across the river. Marching onwards by Cambray towards Valenciennes, he suddenly turned aside on the 16th to Quesnoy, where the Spaniards had begun to level the walls, and had left a small detachment to effect this work. Turenne resolved to restore the ramparts, and gave immediate orders that this should be done: Accordingly the army rested in the vicinity until the 9th November, when the Maréchal repaired to Paris, where his presence had become necessary from political considerations.

1654. — Paris; whither Turenne repairs, November.

The Cardinal de Retz had escaped from prison, and had succeeded in making his way to Spain, and thence to Rome, where Pope Innocent X. had received him with very great distinction. This incident revived hopes and expectations; for although the storm of civil war had subsided, the ocean was still agitated from the reflux of the waters. The young King, however, carried every thing with a high hand; and when the Parliament raised a discussion upon the affairs of the Mint, Louis XIV., in April, held a "Bed of Justice," to which he repaired in person, and forbade the members to interfere in any matter of State. Then, after having thus briefly signified his will, he quitted the chamber without hearing a word. This autocratic conduct created a ferment: remonstrances on the one side, were followed by imprisonment on the other; until the Car-

1655. Turenne effects an accommodation between the King and the Parliament, April.

1655. — dinal Minister called in the prudent aid of Maréchal de Turenne to reconcile the disturbed spirits; and he, with his accustomed moderation and influence, succeeded in accommodating a difference that might have revived the Civil War for a far more justifiable cause than that of La Fronde.

Landrecies besieged by Turenne, and taken, 1st July.

It was the 9th June, 1655, when the army again took the field. Turenne chose the province of Hainault for his operations, and Quesnoy for his base. The Prince was already at Mons, where he rendezvoused with the Spanish forces. The contending armies were at this time of nearly equal strength. It was, under such circumstances, bold in the Viscount to resolve upon a siege which must destroy this equality. However, with the forethought of a great warrior, he had predetermined to undertake the siege of Landrecies from the moment he had, at the end of the previous campaign, secured possession of Quesnoy, which, during the winter, he had crammed full of every kind of needful provision for this object. The French corps d'armée of De la Ferté and Turenne being assembled at Guise, they suddenly broke up their camp on the 18th, and invested Landrecies: and the soldiers worked with so much good will and diligence that in five days a very respectable line of circumvallation protected their operations, while supplies for a month were stored within them. The Prince de Condé, not deeming it possible that Turenne could have supplied his camp in so short a time, marched to occupy Vadencourt in Picardy, between Guise and Landrecies, in order to prevent the King's army from forming magazines. But after resting there till the 7th, and finding that his presence did not disturb the siege, he turned aside to La Fère, where the Court had taken up its quarters, from which he forced the King to retire for better security to Laon. In the mean time the Viscount got near enough to the walls of Landrecies to fix his mines upon the two bastions of the face he besieged, which

rendered the breaches practicable; so that the place surrendered on the 1st July. The rebels attempted nothing considerable in the way of interruption, but remained about Vadencourt until they heard that Landrecies had capitulated, when they retired in hot haste to Cambray, and took up a position behind the Sambre and the Scheldt, between Mons and Valenciennes. 1655.

The combined enemy opened the sluices from both the rivers, which rendered the approach of an attacking army exceedingly difficult. Turenne reconnoitered the Spanish lines; and as the King had joined the army, and it was deemed politic that he should be seen at its head in an enemy's country, the army descended the valley of the Sambre as far as Thuin, and thence to Bavai on the 11th August. At a council of war held before the King, the next day, the Viscount explained the difficulty of forcing the Spanish position, now covered with inundations and bristling with artillery; and proposed to turn it, and so to render all these defences useless. Accordingly the army moved upon Bouchain. The Spaniards, in spite of the Prince, immediately deserted their camp, and marched to St. Amant, in order to be nearer Valenciennes. The Royal army continued its course, and on the 13th reached Neuville on the Scheldt, across which they threw two bridges. A flying detachment under M. de Castelnau was immediately passed to reconnoitre the line of march of the Spanish army, with directions to approach them as near as possible, and, if the opportunity offered, to force them to engage. He found them in march towards Condé, and immediately informed the Maréchal of his discovery, who forthwith marched to the front, where he detected the enemy actually moving away on Tournay, having destroyed the bridge across the Scarpe. As Turenne thought it of no use to follow them further, he sat down before Condé, where a garrison of 2000 men had been placed by the Spaniards: but the works were of no strength; and accordingly the place

Turenne takes Condé, 19th Aug.

1655. surrendered, somewhat to the astonishment of both armies, on the 19th August, the third day after it had been invested. During the siege a detachment of seven or eight squadrons under M. de Bussi-Rabutin was sent out on a foraging party into the villages about the Scheldt. Here he was interrupted by a body of the enemy, who lay at ambuscade, into which the King's troops fell, and were discomfited with considerable loss. In this conflict a standard of the Royal regiment fell into the hands of the troops of Condé, who sent it in to the King by a trumpet. But His Majesty refused to receive any courtesy from his rebel subject, and accordingly the regiment made the rest of the campaign with this sad evidence of a lost standard.

Turenne, summoned to attend the King, leaves the army in command of the Duke of York.

The King and the Cardinal yet remained with the army; and as Louis XIV. always liked the excitement of a siege, Turenne sat down next before St. Guislain on the Aisne. The country round about was so wet that it was with great difficulty they could form the trenches, which filled with water as fast as they were hollowed. Nevertheless, the place surrendered after three days of "tranchée ouverte." The Spaniards now expected the Royal army to march on Brussels; and the Archduke posted Fuensaldaña with the principal portion of the Spanish infantry at Notre Dame de Halle. There was so much uncertainty in Turenne's next move, that, dreading a greater enterprise from so great a General than the greatest could have undertaken, they put all their strong places into the best state of defence, and denuded the fields to supply the garrisons. But as the Maréchal did not consider it prudent to advance into an enemy's country without securing his steps behind him, he merely occupied his army in working at the fortifications of Condé and St. Guislain, and in pushing his convoys as far forward as possible, in order to provide them with munitions of every kind. The Court quitted the army under these circumstances; and as soon as the places were in order, the army marched,

on the 12th October, for Barliamont, near which, about the 8th November, they took up their winter quarters; when the Viscount was summoned to Compiègne to attend the King on matters of importance, and left the army to the command of the Duke of York, who had the commission of Lieutenant-General, and, in consequence of the absence of all his superiors, now held the post of command by right of seniority. 1655.

D'Hocquincourt is suspected of treachery: arrest of the Duchesse de Châtillon.

On the Viscount's arrival at the Court, the Cardinal Minister apprised him that he had reason to suspect treachery on the part of the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt, who, pretending to be discontented at having no command, had been induced by the Duchesse de Châtillon to offer to Condé the possession of the two fortresses of Peronne and Ham, of which he was the governor: and Mazarin wished to induce Turenne to approach these two *places fortes* with his army, in order to prevent this treason. But the Viscount opposed this desire, and showed that it would inevitably drive the Maréchal into open revolt. He rather counselled that the Duchesse should be forthwith arrested; on which D'Hocquincourt, finding himself anticipated, and fearing evil to the lady, hastened to make terms, and yielded up the government of Peronne and Ham to the King on the payment of 200,000 crowns.

Hostile correspondence between Condé and Turenne.

A slight incident, intrinsically of no great importance any way, is recorded to have happened in this campaign, which divided Turenne and Condé beyond what a thousand differences of character had long since effected. M. de Castelnau had allowed himself to be overreached in some affair that had occurred at the bridge of Beuvrage between him and the French officers serving with Condé, in which the King's officers had been outwitted and an advantage obtained by the Spanish army. In recounting the circumstance to the Cardinal, the Viscount stated in his letter that Condé had been obliged to quit his post at Valenciennes, and that some of his rear-guard had been forced to swim across the Scheldt.

1655. — This despatch was intercepted, and the Prince was so incensed by it that he very indiscreetly sent in a trumpeter to the King's army with a letter "fort piquante," denying that he had acted as the Maréchal had represented; and adding that if the Viscount had been with the advanced guard of his army, as the Prince had been at his post in the rear-guard of his own, he could not have stated what was so far from the truth. The letter was delivered into the hands of Turenne in the presence of a large circle of officers; but he contented himself with telling the trumpeter "Qu'il le ferait punir, s'il lui apportait de semblables lettres à l'avenir." It was not at all to Condé's credit to add, that he wrote privately to the Maréchal de la Ferté, whom he knew to be no friend of the Viscount, to say that he had strongly reflected on him also in the letters he had intercepted. The two ancient comrades never acted for the rest of the campaign with the same intercourse as they had done before; and there were no more trumpet letters between them for the remainder of their lives.

1656. Mazarin, at the instance of Cromwell, requires Charles II. and the Duke of York to quit France.

The year 1656 was marked by a considerable change in the government of the King of Spain in the Netherlands. The Archduke Leopold, son of the Emperor Ferdinand, was recalled, and was replaced by the young Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV., King of Spain; and the Marquis de Caracena supplied the place of the Count de Fuensaldaña. On the other hand the army of Lorraine was made over to France by the Duke Francis, brother to the reigning Duke, who, being detected in his continual tergiversations, had been arrested at Brussels by the Viceroy, and sent prisoner to the Castle of Toledo. The family of the Duke resented this insult by carrying over the army to the cause of Louis XIV. Cardinal Mazarin also entered into a treaty with Cromwell; and, at the instance of the Protector, King Charles and the Duke of York were required to leave the kingdom, and to quit the service

of the French armies. Accordingly they took refuge in the Netherlands, where they were received with every distinction. 1656.

Turenne lays siege to Valenciennes, June.

The Maréchal had entrusted to Monsieur de Castelnau to occupy himself during the winter in filling the magazines of Quesnoy, Condé, and St. Guislain; but in the month of May he resumed the command of the army, bringing with him a considerable supply of every necessary for a siege. The Maréchal de la Ferté, being indisposed, had not rejoined the army; so that Turenne had enough to do in getting every thing ready against the opening of the campaign. The Court arrived at La Fère; and it was then determined that as the arrival of the new Viceroy at Brussels had evidently retarded the assembling of the Spanish army, it might be possible to surprise Tournay. Nevertheless this was deemed "too far afield," until the Viscount's judgment was deferred to, and the army marched with that object. However, it was ascertained at Montagne, within two leagues of that place, that a body of men was encamped under its walls, consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. Accordingly Turenne left a detachment as well as his field-bridge at Montagne (where the Scarpe and Scheldt unite), in order to await the arrival of 4000 men, whom he expected from Arras; and about the middle of June he sat down before Valenciennes, where his information led him to believe there was only about 2000 infantry and as many hundred cavalry in garrison.

Siege of Valenciennes; the trenches opened on the 26th June.

Valenciennes is situated on the Scheldt; but the river is commanded in its course through the city by the Mount Azim and the Mount d'Ouy. The ground about is low and marshy, intercepted by two rivulets, which here flow into the Scheldt; and both to the north and south of it are considerable inundations. The Marquis d'Uxelles, who commanded the corps d'armée of De la Ferté, invested the place on the side of Mount Azim, by the road leading up from Bouchain;

1656. and the Viscount, with the rest of the army, moved up by the roads from Cambray and Quesnoy, while M. de Castelnau laid down a fascine bridge to communicate the two divisions across the lower inundation and river, and a bridge of boats was thrown over the Scheldt below the city, near the Abbey of St. Sauve; so that the very next morning the whole army set to work on their lines of circumvallation. This was done with so much expedition and goodwill, that on the third day it was placed beyond the means of interruption; and on the sixth day the ditch was finished and palisaded, and the rampart well formed and sodded. It was only just in time. The Spanish army had come up, and forthwith commenced making reprisals. Several reservoirs had been already formed near Bouchain, by which they could flush the river; and this rendered the communications of the two banks so hazardous that the besiegers had not means enough to endeavour to provide the remedy of a good dyke, that might check the rush of waters. For the bridge of fascines was readily lifted, and the inundations were raised to the middle of a man. All the cavalry were accordingly sent about to collect wood; and the infantry were employed to bind and fix the fagots; so that at length the besiegers not only overcame the inconvenience they had experienced from the opening of these reservoirs, but succeeded in throwing the water into the city, and flooding more than a quarter of it. On the 26th June, as soon as he had secured the camp, the Maréchal ordered the trenches to be opened.

Condé compels Turenne to raise the siege of Valenciennes: the latter retires to Quesnoy.

The Maréchal de la Ferté arrived at the army within ten days, and found that by the providence of Turenne the lines had been constructed double, and with peculiar care, in his front, because he had thought it most probable that the attack would be made against that side. The first measure of this vexatious man was, in contravention of the wishes of his superior, to fill up the second line; thinking it left him only one to defend.

At the end of three weeks the besiegers had made two lodgments,—one upon the counterscarp of the place, and one upon that of an advanced demilune; and a tenaille had been stormed and carried. It was evident that the besieged were disheartened; and a stir was observed among the Spanish relieving army for their support. Their baggage was seen to march away on the road to Bouchain one day; and the next the entire army was ostensibly in order of battle. Turenne, in consequence, took steps to avert the attack; and from the information he received, it threatened to come (as he had expected) against the camp of M. de la Ferté. The Count de Marsin, with 4000 men, had already reached St. Amant, and that Maréchal was warned of their approach. On the night of the 16th July, Don John and the Prince de Condé crossed the Scheldt; and the enemy's army fell with all their force on their lines, crossed the ditch, and overcame all resistance, reaching without much difficulty the quarters of De la Ferté, whom they took prisoner, and marched directly down to the city. The attack was likewise made on Turenne's quarters; but this was repulsed, and, guessing that his colleague would have more difficulty on his side, although he had heard nothing from him, he sent two regiments across the dyke to his assistance, and ordered four more to follow them; when, as the day broke, he heard cries of joy coming from Valenciennes, and observed a cessation of fire from the French lines, which induced him to send orders to his battalions to return, which reached the last detachment; but the first had crossed the river, and was sacrificed—killed or taken prisoners—before his adjutant could reach them with the Maréchal's orders. He forthwith ordered all the guards out of the trenches, and all the cannon to be withdrawn from the ramparts, and employed all the horses he could harness to carry them away. With the same diligence he sent fatigue parties to throw down the lines in many places, to 1656.

1656. enable his army to march out of the intrenchments. As soon as he could march, he passed into the open; and before he had advanced a mile he had got his column into good order. His cavalry in the mean while covered the march, and in this way they reached Quesnoy in parade order. The enemy did not attempt to pursue; which somewhat surprised Turenne, who had ordered the baggage to march forward at early morning. But, as soon as he had learnt that Condé did not pursue, he ordered the baggage to return to Quesnoy, where the army took up their camp. Here he was joined the following day by 2000 Germans, who had been employed in the service of the convoys, and whom he now called back to his aid.

Turenne's skilful generalship.

The Maréchal de Turenne is thought to have evinced at this juncture the quality of a true heroic commander. All his officers expected that he would hasten to retire across the frontier; but his excellent judgment led him to conclude that to have withdrawn his army into Picardy would have frightened the party of the Court, and encouraged the friends of Condé in the capital. He even carried his courage so far that he would not allow his army to cover themselves with intrenchments. He camped according to rigid rules of castramentation, and saw himself that proper vigilance was maintained at all the outposts, when, satisfied with the advantage of putting a bold face upon the emergency, he in this sort awaited the next move of his adversary.

Condé invested.

At length the Prince, accompanied by Don John, arrived at the head of his troops; and the Maréchal went forth with his best regiments to meet them, and then defiled in perfect order before them, until he brought them within sight of his camp. His soldiers, however, were not so cool as their leader, and began to get together the baggage, in order to march away at sight of the foe. The Viscount therefore hastened into the midst of the camp followers with a pistol in his hand, with which he swore to blow out the brains of the

first person who moved. No one was rash enough to disobey. In such an emergency a leader might have called a Council of War; but the Maréchal reasoned with his officers on the course he thought bound to pursue; and their confidence in him was such, that they with one accord stood firm. The Spaniards remained two whole days in consultation and suspense, in which interval a great many of De la Ferté's men came back to their ranks; and Turenne was again at the head of so respectable a force, that his adversary judged it prudent to march away to invest Condé. Bussi-Rabutin, speaking of this affair in his Memoirs, remarks, "Il faut bien posséder la guerre pour en user ainsi, et ce sont là des coups de maître." Le Tellier, Secretary of State with the King, writes thus to the Maréchal, "Par votre prudence, monseigneur, et par une conduite vigoureuse, vous avez rétabli la réputation des armes du Roi. En verité il n'y a rien de plus beau que votre campement près de Quesnoy après la déroute de Valenciennes: d'avoir ainsi fait tête aux ennemis fort orgueilleux, jusque dans leur pays même, et de les avoir obligé à se retirer quoique victorieux, c'est un coup qui n'appartient qu'aux grands maîtres de l'art militaire." 1656.

Inferiority of Turenne and Condé to the German, English, and Swedish generals of the same period.

The great Maréchal de Turenne, whose ability has been shown to be of the greatest in every business of life, does not appear to have arrived at this period to that transcendent degree of military strategy to which he attained at a later period. Assuming, according to the views of French history, that the great struggle at this period between Turenne and Condé was a study of the art of War[6]; it admits of much question whether

[6] Voltaire gives this as his opinion: "Ainsi ces deux hommes opposés l'un à l'autre déployaient les ressources de leur génie. On les admirait dans leurs retraites comme dans leurs victoires, dans leur bonne conduite et dans leurs fautes mêmes, qu'ils savaient toujours réparer. Leurs talens arrêtaient tour à tour les progrès de l'une et de l'autre monarchie."

1656. — the five years' campaigns we have related—1652, 1656—merit any consideration whatever as a military history. Every campaign is a simple reflection of another. A fortress is to be besieged or relieved; and it mostly depends upon accident or caprice what town is selected for the encounter. At the same time, however, that this is the process of French campaigning, we read of a much higher school of strategy in Germany; and even in England, where, if the art of war is never professed, its conduct is always accompanied with the boldest and most daring exercise, and where the civil war had been about this same juncture brought to a conclusion by a course of energetic exertions that had carried the seat of conflict into every corner of the kingdom. In a still less degree did the skill of these French competitors attain to the great conceptions of Torstenson and his Swedish and German compeers, who carried their armies from the heart of the empire to the shores of the Baltic, and from the Rhine to the Oder and the Vistula, with a boldness that utterly dwarfs the contest we are now relating. I do not deem it necessary, therefore, to continue the details of this war further than by way of recapitulation.

1657. Turenne repulsed at Cambray by Condé: Mardyk taken, 3rd October.

Drawing away from Turenne in his camp at Quesnoy, the Prince invested and took the small town of Condé. The Viscount captured La Capelle, and relieved St. Guislain, besieged by Condé, when the campaign of 1656 ended in November. Turenne took the field in May 1657, and endeavoured to surprise Cambray, but was defeated by the Prince's vigilance and activity. The Maréchal de la Ferté sat down before Montmedi in Luxemburg, which, notwithstanding it was only garrisoned by 300 men, held out till the 6th August. The Prince thought to relieve it by making a sudden attempt on Calais, as a diversion, on 1st July; but this failed. The Viscount captured St. Venant on the 14th August. The Spaniards besieged Ardres; but the Viscount being at liberty relieved it from St. Venant,

and captured several small places on the Flemish frontier in the course of September. He then suddenly fell on Mardyk, which capitulated, after two or three days' siege, on the 3rd October. Towards the end of November the French withdrew to their frontier, and the Spaniards cantoned in the vicinity of Dunkirk. 1656.

1658.

The year 1658, the twenty-fourth of this long war, opened under very indifferent auspices. Two Maréchaux of France grievously committed themselves—the one (D'Hocquincourt) deserted to the Spaniards, after having induced the garrison of Hesdin to open their guns and shut the gates of that fortress on the King's person, and the other (D'Aumont) fell blunderingly into an ambush at Ostend, and was made prisoner by the Spaniards. The King's army deeply felt this disgrace to their uniform. In the mean while the famous Cardinal de Retz had joined the Prince de Condé at Brussels; and in many parts of the kingdom discontents were still excited amongst the nobility of the provinces, chiefly through the influence of the Duchesse de Longueville. France was exhausted by the sacrifices she was required to make of her material comforts, and longed for peace. The first note of the opening of the campaign, was the removal of the Court to Amiens. The fort of Mardyk, which had been taken at the close of the previous campaign, was now occupied by a garrison of English, under General Morgan, who had been sent, accompanied by Lockhart, who had married Cromwell's niece, as Ambassador, to serve with the French King's army, together with a fleet, the frigates of which kept the open sea in the offing to assist the garrison. The Spanish army, who took the field before Condé was sufficiently convalescent to mount his horse, made a rather ridiculous attempt to storm the fort of Mardyk and to burn the vessels, which failed. The Duke of York, who was now serving in the Spanish army, gives an account of his being present with Don John, the Marquis de Caracena, the Count de Marsin, and their

Mardyk garrisoned by an English force: failure of the Spaniards to storm the fort.

1658. staff. But although he gives no dates, he witnessed the affair; and he sums it up with the remark, "Les ennemis furent assurément plus surpris de la retraite que de l'approche, et ils s'attendaient si peu qu'on les quittait que les Espagnols étaient déjà partis que la garnison tirait encore." It lost only one man, killed in this demonstration.

Siege of Dunkirk, June. The terms of the treaty that Cromwell had made with France stipulated distinctly for the siege of Dunkirk; and that it should be delivered up, when taken, to England. The delay of the performance of this agreement excited the anger of the Protector, and he urged its fulfilment. With great exertions the Viscount's army was increased to 16,000 men; but it was the month of May before he took the field, and before the enemy had left their winter quarters. In considering the enterprise, he saw the great risk of undertaking a siege of Dunkirk without first having possession of Furnes, Bergues, and Gravelines; besides the difficulty of procuring provisions, and especially forage for the cavalry, so early in the season. Considerable expectations, however, had been raised in Brussels as to the intentions of the French Maréchal, and it was rumoured that he contemplated some siege of importance. The doubts on this subject very much disquieted the Spaniards, who had no infantry to spare for garrisons, and who did not know which to strengthen. Dunkirk they considered to be perfectly out of danger, although the engagement made for its capture by Cromwell was well known to their diplomacy. In consequence some outworks, which had been commenced to strengthen the *tracé* of that town betwixt the Canal of Bergues and the town, were left unfinished. The whole country, however, was reconnoitred by the Lieutenant-General de Bellefonds, and it was reported to be difficult even to discover the means of approach. Information at length arrived that the enemy had abandoned a redoubt near Bergues; and Turenne immediately rode

forth to inspect for himself whether the army could march by that way. He found 3000 English, and about the same number of French, under M. de Castelnau, upon the dyke; and the Spaniards, unprepared for the appearance of an enemy from behind them, had begun visibly to abandon their forts on the side of Mardyk; so that the Viscount, knowing the desire of the King to act with goodwill for the attainment of Dunkirk, sent a man to swim the canal and communicate orders of march to M. de Castelnau: which brought up the whole of his army the next morning on the side of the dunes[7]. As soon as the garrison of Dunkirk heard of this march, they opened all the sluices, so that a wide-spread inundation completely washed the walls. All the detachments of troops that were within call were drawn withinside them, so that 2200 foot and 700 or 800 horse were collected by the Marquis de Lède, who, as an officer of considerable reputation for the defence of fortified places, had been named. He had only just returned from Brussels, whither he had gone to represent that he was ill-garrisoned, and ill-supplied with every kind of munition. The news that Turenne had actually invested the place took Don John by surprise; and as the British navy commanded the sea-board, it was felt that the only available succour to be sent was by immediately carrying down the army to interrupt the siege: but it was the 12th June before this resolve could be carried into effect. 1658.

The Maréchal pitched his tent on the *estrang*, or the sandy shore above high tide. The King came up as soon as he was apprised of the march of the army, and took up his quarters in Mardyk. The principal part of the French army was encamped in the sand-hills, divided from the English line by the Canal de Bergues.

[7] Die dünen are sand-hills and high, broad, artificial banks, that protect the low country from the irruptions of the sea.

1658. It was difficult to establish bridges of communication, because of the interruptions from the garrison. The English ships brought from Calais all the siege materials and supplies; and as soon as these were landed, the Viscount threw up his lines of circumvallation and contravallation, which he united to the sea on either side by strong stockades, fixed by strong iron chains which the English sailors prepared against the highest tides, and which effectually closed the flanks from being turned by the besieged. Nevertheless, after these works were completed, the sorties from the garrison so impeded the trenches that the entire body of the English troops, 6000 strong, under Major-General Morgan, who were inexperienced in forming field-works, were concentrated to act against these sorties. About the fifth or sixth night they had repulsed one from the garrison, and were led to make a dashing attempt to follow the besieged into the town, and even succeeded in getting past the palisades; but they failed to make any lodgment. By the eighth or ninth day, when the besiegers had reached already the glacis of the counterscarp, the report came in, that the Spanish army was advancing by way of the estrang from the side of Nieuport.

Death of D'Hocquincourt.

It was the 12th June, and the Maréchal immediately carried forth a body of cavalry to reconnoitre, and found the enemy marking a camp at Zudcote. He engaged the troops of the advance; and a skirmish commenced, during which the Prince de Condé and the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt came to the front. Don John, Caracena, Gamarre, De Boutteville, the Duke of York, and many superior officers, were got together, when, like all renegades, D'Hocquincourt was the most urgent to charge the enemy; and, notwithstanding that it was represented to him that there was no object to be obtained by it, he would not be restrained, but carried forward the advanced guard against the advanced picket, when he received a gun-shot in the stomach, that killed him on the spot. Condé, seeing

him fall dead, went forward forthwith to save such papers as he might have had in his pocket, even if he could not recover the body. But all the general officers, at great risk to themselves, joined in the effort to succeed in this object, and the Maréchal's body was recovered, and carried away to be buried at Furnes. 1658.

Turenne prepares for the attack on the garrison.

Turenne, feeling convinced that he was now about to be exposed to an attempt on the part of the Spanish army to force his lines, resolved to be beforehand with them. He ordered his army to be prepared for marching; and the commanders were summoned to head-quarters to learn the reasons of the movement. On receiving this notice, Lockhart, with true Anglo-Saxon frankness, returned for answer, "That he would obey the Maréchal's orders, and learn his reasons after the battle." The Spanish army, on the other hand, encamped with their right to the shore and their left resting on the Canal of Furnes. Their infantry were formed up in front, and their cavalry in the second line. Don John commanded the right wing and Condé the left. There were several enclosures on this flank, between the canal and the sand-hills, having cops and ditches, which last were full of water. Prince Condé, with his experience, immediately set his men to work to make temporary bridges across them to liberate his communications; this attracted the attention of Turenne, convinced him of Condé's whereabout, and directed the point of attack.

At an hour before daybreak a portion of French and English were marched into the defences to prevent a sally from the garrison; and at the same time ten French and six English battalions, with fifty-four squadrons of light cavalry, and four of gendarmes, in all, 9000 foot and 5000 or 6000 horse, with ten guns, which were divided five to either flank, marched towards the Spanish camp. The Spanish army had 9000 or 10,000 horse and 5000 foot, but no artillery, as M. de Turenne had previously been advised, and the infantry

1658. — was in one single line. Don Gaspard Bonifacio, in command of the post, stood on the highest sand-hill, with Don Francisco de Menesez *en potence* facing the shore. The Duke of York, at the first alarm of the advance of the King's army, repaired to the outposts, and distinctly recognized the intention of making the attack; and, from his knowledge of the French troops, pointed out to Don John the Gardes Françaises, and the Swiss, and the regiments of Picardy, &c., from their standards, and his own countrymen from their scarlet uniforms.

Dunkirk surrenders, June 24.

The English, commanded by Lockhart and Morgan, marched first into action to assail the high sand-hill; and M. de Castelnau, with some horse, flanked them on the shore; while several light ships of the English fleet plied cannon-shot upon the Spanish regiments of Bonifacio and Menesez. Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick, commanding Lockhart's regiment, halted a moment at the foot of the hill, to allow his men to take breath, when Morgan relates that the opposing soldiers began "chaffing" each other; on which the Major-General told them to cease, for that in a minute or two they would be cutting each other's throats, when his men threw up their caps in the air, saying, "We will obtain better caps before night," and then followed the General up the slope against the Spaniards. Fenwick fell dead before they reached the top, when Major Hinton led the men forward with much boldness and courage, so that Bonifacio was precipitated from the top to the bottom, with the loss of seven out of the eleven captains who served under him, besides many men. Don John called on the Duke of York to go to the assistance of his men, thus severely assailed by the English, who met them descending the sand-hill at the head of the Spanish cavalry guard. Nevertheless the musketry fire of the English was so well poured in that they proved unassailable, and the Spaniards were a second time overthrown, with the single loss of Captain Berkeley, wounded, on the side of the English. In the

meanwhile Castelnau, with the French horse, charged the right flank of the Spaniards so vigorously as to overthrow two Spanish battalions, and penetrated between the two Spanish lines. The Marquis de Crequi, with the Guards, and Swiss, and the regiments of Picardy, and of Turenne, now assailed the flank of Condé, and succeeded at the first impulse in driving it back. The Prince, seeing that he was ill supported, rallied his foot and made head with his cavalry, and in the charge had a horse killed under him. However, at the critical moment, the Viscount, who had seen the check that happened to De Crequi, brought up several battalions, with which he almost enveloped the entire wing where Condé commanded, and opened against them so deadly a fire that the whole body got into confusion, and were glad to escape by way of the bridged enclosures which his providence had prepared. But 3000 or 4000 laid down their arms, including the Count de Meilles, who died of his wounds, De Coligni, De Boutteville, and De Romanville, who all sacrificed themselves to protect the Prince. Don John, Caracena, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester, escaped by the way of the shore. Turenne, however, was not very careful to follow the fugitives, as he was more solicitous to save the works of the siege; and he despatched immediately the whole of his reserve, under the Marquis de Richelieu, sending orders that no pursuit should be made beyond Furnes; thus he was enabled on the morning of the 15th June to renew the siege from the very point at which he had left it. His greatest personal loss in the battle was that of the Marquis de Castelnau, who was killed before he had been able to receive the information that the King had made him a Maréchal of France. Ten days after the battle (on the 24th) Dunkirk surrendered upon terms; and the garrison, who had lost their Governor, the Marquis de Lède, the day previous, was marched away to St. Omer. Louis XIV. and his whole Court

1658.

1658. entered the town in triumph at the head of the English troops, to whom he made over the place according to treaty.

Serious illness of Louis XIV. Capture of Gravelines, Oudenarde, and Menin.

Turenne, on the 2nd July, marched to Bergues, which he besieged and took; and then Furnes and Dixmuyde surrendered to him on the 6th, and he had purposed to sit down before Nieuport; but he received an express from the Cardinal requesting him to desist from further conquests. The King had come up from Mardyk to be witness of its capture, and all had observed how ill His Majesty appeared. It seems that the dead at Mardyk had been imperfectly buried in the sands, and that the heat of the season had produced an epidemic, which had infected the King, who was removed away in haste to Calais, when he fell dangerously ill, and there were great apprehensions for His Majesty's life for the space of a fortnight, when the disease took a favourable turn, and the Court was removed to Paris. The campaign was then renewed. Gravelines surrendered to Maréchal de la Ferté on the 30th August. Oudenarde fell to Turenne, with scarcely any resistance, on the 9th September; and Menin also opened its gates. The Viscount doubted a moment whether, as a consummation of his successes, he might not march on Brussels; but having, as it were, but a flying camp without artillery, he thought it prudent "to fly at less game," and to possess himself of any of the strong places near the coast, whence, with the assistance of the English fleet, he might gain supplies to yield his army abundance during the winter.

Turenne defeats the Prince de Ligne: visits Paris, December.

While under this hesitation, the Prince de Ligne came out of Ypres, with 2000 foot and 1500 horse, with a view to throw himself into Tournay, from whence the Prince de Condé had withdrawn. Turenne at once attacked the Prince, routed and scattered his forces, 2000 of which were cut in pieces or made prisoners, with all their flags and baggage; and the Prince de Ligne hardly escaped with 600 horse

back to Yprès. This affair determined the Viscount to lay siege to this city. As soon as he had collected material, he opened his trenches, but De Ligne sent forth his cavalry in a sally, in which M. de Charoît and several officers were killed; though the besieged were driven back to the palisades of the counterscarp. General Morgan, who was at the siege with the English contingent, declares that he now went to the Maréchal and proposed "to attempt the counterscarp upon an assault." But Turenne replied with some anger that his master would never forgive him for attempting an escalade where three half-moons, planted with guns, could play upon the spot. Morgan repeating his offer, the Maréchal referred it to a council of war, when Schomberg said, "I think General Morgan would make no such offer unless he thought it feasible with his fighting men." The Viscount said he would get them all killed; but, over-persuaded, he allowed the attempt. The brave Welshman proceeded upon his gallant risk with great judgment. He ordered his men to carry each man a long fascine upon his pike, and as soon as they neared the stockade they were to slip the fascine and fall on. The appearance of this "moving wood of Dunsinane" puzzled the besieged, who allowed them a near approach. The Major-General, having reached the work, called on his men to charge; when the *red-coats*[8] said to him, "General, shall we fall on in order, or happy-go-lucky?" Morgan replied, "Go as you

1658.

Gallant conduct of Morgan at Yprès.

[8] This mention of red coats and *habits rouges*, both in Dunkirk and Yprès, in General Morgan's and the Duke of York's Memoirs of these transactions, shows that it was the English well-acknowledged uniform at this period; and although there is reason to believe that scarlet had been the livery of the Court in the time of James the First, this is the first mention of it displayed in open war. Hudibras calls this army by the name: and "Cromwell, when, with deep oaths and vows, he turned the Commons out of their House: vowed that the 'red-coats' would descend!"

1658. will, happy-go-lucky." His men rushed up to the rampart in an instant, and forced the defenders into the moat. The French troops then coming up in support attacked one of the demilunes, while the English stormed the two others; and within two hours the drum beat a parley, and the white flag was seen on the walls of Yprès, on the 26th September, thanks to the English. The Château de Commines next yielded to the regiment of "Gardes Ecossaises," under Drummond and Rutherford; and Nismes and Grammont were the last fruits of this campaign. The King's army, after these brilliant feats, remained in the enemy's country through the month of November, to draw supplies and contributions from the places that were to be retained with garrisons. And it was about the beginning of December when Turenne carried his army across the Lys at Hazebrouck; and, having placed the troops in winter quarters, repaired himself to the Court.

1659. Death of Cromwell, 13th Sept. 1658: Peace, 1659: marriage of Louis: treaty of the Pyrenees, 7th November.

The great achievement of the campaign had been, doubtless, the siege and acquisition of Dunkirk; and this might have had some effect in inducing the King of Spain to desire to bring the war to a conclusion, which was beginning to tell so severely on the Netherlands. However, other political circumstances operated to the same end, both on the side of Spain and France. The Protector of England had died on the 13th September; and the Alliance of the Rhine, signed on the 14th August, had contained a stipulation that the newly-elected Emperor Leopold should employ his energies in carrying out the Peace of Westphalia, and should no longer take the part of Philip IV. in the contest with France. But the immediate event that now led to the conclusion of the war was the projected marriage of Louis XIV. with the Infanta Maria Theresa. The negotiations for this commenced in January, 1659, and the preliminaries were signed on the 4th June; when the Treaty of the Pyrenees, which as-

sured the general peace, was concluded on the 7th November. 1659.

While these events were maturing, a chivalrous notion occupied the mind of Turenne. He had nourished an attachment for the young Duke of York, who had so long served under his eye, and he thought his military talents were equal to the emergency (which seemed consequent on the death of Cromwell), of recovering the kingdom for Charles II. He accordingly asked permission of the Court to assist in the restoration of the Royalty of England. Having received the King's consent, he invited the young Prince to a meeting at Amiens, where he told him that, as the young King was absent from France, he desired to offer him the means of making a descent on England; with this object, he offered him his own regiment, 1200 strong, and the Gendarmes Ecossais, together with 3000 or 4000 muskets and six guns, with their complete ammunition, and six weeks' supplies for 5000 men, which should be put on board at his expense for transportation into England. The Duke of York accepted the offer with delight. The Duc de Bouillon, and the Count d'Auvergne, nephew of the Maréchal, agreed to serve under the Duke as volunteers, and all things were prepared to the very eve of embarkation, when the defeat of the Royalists by Lambert, at Chester, put a stop to the expedition.

Abortive attempt of Turenne to restore the Stuarts.

1662.

Maréchal de Turenne now retired into private life for six or seven years; and nothing is related of the leisure occupations of the great warrior. It is therefore an opportune moment to relate, that about this time an incident occurred which, in a remote degree, is connected with the Maréchal. His King entered into an agreement with Charles II. of England to acquire possession of Dunkirk for five millions of livres. This reprehensible and discreditable act was carried out on the 27th October 1662; and Louis XIV. did not lose a moment, after he had gained possession of this fortress,

Temporary retirement of Turenne: purchase of Dunkirk by France; 27th Oct.

1662. — in rendering it the strongest maritime possession of France. To Turenne it must have been a gratifying acquisition for his own country, since it had been his sword that had gained the place. But the English army claimed to have shared largely in the glory of the contest, and lamented accordingly the loss of its possession, which remains to this day a stigma upon Charles II.

1666. Turenne abjures the Protestant Faith.

In 1666 Turenne lost his wife, who, after all, retained her faith, and died a Protestant. I do not find whether it was after his wife's death or before, that the Viscount was converted to the Roman Faith, nor does it greatly signify. Doubtless the pious and sincere ecclesiastic who brought the greatest man in France to the Church, thought he had done a good work which merited Heaven. But any thoughtless, unreflecting soldier, whose mind from any cause is called to seriousness and rendered Christian, may reach Heaven as surely without "taking a plunge" that is a reflection on Turenne's understanding. When the conversion occurred, or whether it was conviction, ambition, or other interested motive that induced the great soldier to abjure the faith of his forefathers, I know not; but it is related in the "Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne," and in Mascaron's funeral sermon after his death, that when the King offered to reward the great services of the Maréchal by renewing the post of Constable of France in his favour, if he would renounce his Protestant Faith, Turenne declined to do so; and accordingly he was now created Maréchal-Général des Camps et Armées du Roi, without any such restriction.

Turenne concludes a treaty with Portugal.

Cardinal Mazarin, after the close of the war and the marriage of the King, appeared to have attained to a summit in the administration of affairs that so far satisfied his ambition that, when Louise de Guzman, Queen Dowager of Portugal, addressed herself to the Premier, through her minister the Count de Soure, His Eminence requested Maréchal Turenne to relieve him of

the affair and take the negotiations out of his hands. 1666.
It had been an article in the Treaty of the Pyrenees,— —
that France should not meddle in the affairs of the Peninsula. But Louis XIV. and Mazarin held such obligations not to be binding, and the Viscount was accordingly employed to undertake a matter that might hereafter be useful against Spain, and keep the Portuguese intrigue out of sight. He was therefore sent away to the country house of his nephew, the Cardinal de Bouillon, where Turenne concluded a secret treaty with the Count de Soure, by virtue of which Schomberg, who, as a German by birth and a Protestant by religion, was not likely to create suspicion, should undertake the organization and arming of the Portuguese forces. Schomberg fulfilled his required duties with much intelligence, and corresponded punctually with the Viscount, by whose counsels his political relations and military affairs were sustained. After the death of Mazarin, in the following year, the King placed the Portuguese question altogether in the hands of Turenne, who was entrusted with the sums requisite to fulfil the conditions. In order to render this closer, Maréchal Turenne proposed a marriage between the Grande Mademoiselle and the King Alphonso IV. But the lady could not make up her mind to ally herself with such a man, and did not desire to quit France. The Viscount then suggested another French alliance, with the view of detaching the little kingdom from Spain, in which he succeeded; and the King of Portugal was so grateful for his services, that he sent over a plenipotentiary to the French Court to propose a marriage between his own brother and Turenne's niece. But the Council soon became jealous of the Maréchal's influence, and endeavoured to withdraw the Portuguese affairs out of his hands.

However, a more interesting question was now confided to the Viscount by the King, consequent upon Death of Philip IV. Sept. 1665.

1667. — Powerful alliance against the Empire and Spain, March, 1667: Turenne takes the command, 10th May.

the death of Philip IV. in September, 1665; when Louis XIV. desired to consult his Maréchal-Général with more than his accustomed confidence in the complications by which, in 1667, he lit up a new war against the Empire and Spain, under the alliance of England, Sweden, Holland, and Portugal with France. The King at once confided to Turenne "Qu'il voulait marcher en personne à la tête de ses armées, et apprendre sous lui le métier de la guerre." The troops destined for the field were already, in the month of March, assembled on the frontiers of Champagne and Picardy, under the pretence of the ordinary military reviews; but towards the end of April the King threw off the mask, named Turenne to the chief command and the Generals to serve under him, and gave the requisite orders that the troops should take the field at once. The strong places having been all amply supplied during the previous winter, 50,000 men were assembled on the banks of the Somme, who were so echelonned that they might be united on any point in five or six days; and on the 10th May Turenne assumed the chief command, followed by Louis XIV. himself on the 20th. As soon as the whole army was put in movement, Maréchal d'Aumont, at the head of 6000 men, marched between the Lys and the sea; the Marquis de Crequi, on the other flank, directed his march towards the Moselle, with about the same force; and the Maréchal-Général, with 35,000, marched between these two detachments, to strike the heavy blows that were contemplated. No expectation of hostile measures had put the Spaniards on their guard; all their towns were defenceless; and an army of only 20,000 men, under the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, was in the field to oppose this formidable attack, who contented himself with destroying successively the fortifications as they were threatened.

Rapid conquests of the French:

The campaign accordingly came to be called by the happy phrase, *La Promenade Militaire*. La Bassée

and Charleroi succumbed first, but were soon followed by Binche, Aeth, Tournay, Douay, Oudenarde, Alost, Berg, Furnes, Armentières, and Courtray (21 June—31 July). The King, sated with success, quitted the army to bring up his Queen to share his triumph; and their Majesties entered the conquered places in great state; when the Court painter, Vander Meulen, always in attendance, was commanded to exercise his experienced pencil in order to circulate through France a knowledge of their King's rapid triumphs. These puerilities were not at all to the taste of Turenne, and he now ventured to remonstrate with the *Grande Monarque* on their indiscretion. The Maréchal desired to undertake greater and more hazardous operations, first by besieging Lille, a great and extensive fortress, strongly fortified, defended by a good garrison, under an able and resolute Governor, the Count de Croui. Louis XIV. accordingly sent back his Queen to Compiègne, and prepared to undertake in his own person some of the most difficult and arduous duties of this siege. The Count de Martin, with 6000 Spaniards, had now arrived in the field to resist the aggression; and accordingly it was requisite to construct extensive lines of circumvallation. The Marquis d'Humières invested the place on the 3rd August. The Governor, on hearing that the King served in person at the siege, sent to inquire on which side of the town His Majesty was quartered, that he might prevent the guns from firing on his Royal person. The King thanked him for his politeness and courtesy, but replied that "his quarters were the general camp of his army." The trenches were opened on the 19th. No incidents of any note are recorded of the siege, except that it lasted till the 28th, when a capitulation was signed, and the same day the Monarch, with his accustomed state, entered the city and received the homage of the magistrates. The Comte de Maison and the Prince de Ligne, ignorant of the fall of the

1667. — siege of Lille, which surrenders 28th Aug.

1667. place, made a demonstration for its encouragement on the 31st. But the Maréchal de Crequi immediately collected the King's horse, and routed the Spanish force, taking 1500 prisoners, eighteen standards and *five pairs of cymbals*.

Rigid discipline enforced by Turenne.

Louis XIV. had now, according to Voltaire, succeeded "vaincre sans combattre;" and his military vanity having been glutted, he quitted the army and returned to Paris. The campaign, amidst such facile successes, had been, as it were, a great Court gala. Excellent cheer of all material requirements, luxuries, and pleasures of every kind, accompanied the Royal army without detracting in the least from its discipline, which the Maréchal-Général required with great exactitude. Indifferent to "the pomp and circumstance" of war, the old soldier was content to supply his table with ordinary fare, and an iron canteen; but services of plate adorned the tables of most of the inferior officers, with ragouts and entremets; and every one tried to rival his neighbour in dress and general magnificence. The only severity of war was, that at this period a young and manly Court set the fashion of always appearing on horseback, which habit, later in the King's reign, gave place to chaises de poste, well springed and cushioned, with a considerable array of grooms and led horses for the *petits maîtres*. Turenne, the hardy and robust veteran, required that officers should be soldiers every where in the field, whatever might be their life in quarters.

The Triple Alliance, 25th April: Louis takes Franche Comté. Peace of Aix la Chapelle, 2nd May.

In the mean while the rapidity of the conquests of Louis XIV. alarmed Europe; and Charles II. of Spain was enabled to rouse England, Holland, and Sweden, to form a triple alliance that should check the young King's mischievous ambition. Sir William Temple repaired in secret to the Hague, and, after a negotiation of five days, drew up a treaty in one night, which took France by surprise in the midst of her preparations for a new campaign. The project was accepted

on the 23rd January, 1668, signed on the 7th February, and ratified on the 25th April. In the mean while the King, to whom Condé had suggested a conquest not at all within the purview of the Triple Alliance, quitted St. Germain, on horseback, on the 2nd February, and made himself master of Franche Comté in a fortnight. Turenne had some difficulty in restraining the army of the Netherlands from bursting their bounds in order to rival the glory of their companions in arms, who had accomplished this great triumph. The wiser counsels of Turenne, Louvois, and Lionne, preached moderation to the young conqueror, and hastened the conclusion of a general peace, which was signed on the 2nd May, 1668, at Aix la Chapelle. 1668.

Turenne's private studies and habits.

Maréchal de Turenne had now again a season of repose. His biographers assure us that he had recourse to good books, and regularly attended Mass. It transpires, however, that he was not always quite satisfied with his new faith, and especially disliked being called upon to confess before receiving the Sacrament. His life was, at any rate, one of simplicity and cheerfulness, unmixed with bigotry. His advice and influence remained very great with all classes, and was rendered useful to the service of the State. But Louis XIV., having discovered that "L'Etat, c'est moi," did not again pass over to his Maréchal-Général any particular secret negotiations as before. There is much reason to believe that Turenne was now, as always, a considerable reader of books. He is said to have been readily excited at the actions of great men, and would study Cæsar and Quintus Curtius with renewed pleasure. Some of his biographers relate that he threatened to fight a man who said that the writer of the life of Alexander the Great was a mere romancer. He never thought that he had sufficiently studied the science of war, and would again and again peruse with avidity both history and geography. He understood both German and Flemish tolerably well; but he

1668. could not write even French correctly; so that Cardinal de Retz remarked, "That the obscurity of his language was only made intelligible by his glory." He was not over partial to society of any kind, and it was rather in study than in conversation that he passed his private life. He could never endure a *bel esprit*, who would bore him with *bon-mots*, &c.; but he liked plain, sensible men, who knew what they talked about. He was not, however, without cheerfulness, and could joke and tell good stories as well as any one. An anecdote is told of Turenne, the like of which is related both of Napoleon and Wellington,—that some one, mistaking him for a friend, ran up to him and gave him a slap on the back; when he turned and said, "Quand même c'eut été ton Georges, il ne fallait pas frapper si fort."

I have been solicitous to seek for some information as to the occupation and pursuits of the Viscount during these years of *relâche* 1667—72, because it appears to me that a thorough change "had come over the spirit of his dream" when he took the field again in his sixty-third year. Apparently sated with the host of sieges which marked the former campaign, Turenne now aspires to a higher practice of the military art; and his skill and genius, aided by his experience, gave birth to strategy, which hereafter becomes an institution of war.

1672. Louis XIV. prepares to invade Holland.

A flourishing Republic like Holland was especially antithetic to the inflated ambition of such a Monarch as Louis XIV., and the presumptuous and haughty conqueror deemed that it would prove an easy prey to his hitherto successful arms. It had therefore been long in the heart of His Majesty, to overcome their insolent opposition to France in religion, commerce, and politics, by erasing them altogether from the map of Europe. The Dutch were divided among themselves. One party adopted the Prince of Orange for a leader, and another sided with the brothers De Witt.

The latter desired an accommodation with the mighty leader of thousands of soldiers, and, foreseeing the storm, would have yielded to it. But the haughty King rejected even their submission, and all prepared with the accustomed spirit of the people to defend their country. 1672.

Louis XIV. assembled 100,000 men under arms. The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster opened their countries to the free passage of these troops, which were divided into four large corps d'armée, of which the first was commanded by Turenne, the second by Condé, the third was under De Créqui, and the fourth under the Duke of Luxemburg. The King, with Philip of Orleans, his brother, had the place of Generalissimo; but His Majesty thought fit, in order to prevent all disputes, to declare that if the army should in the course of the campaign become more or less assembled for operations in the field, the Maréchal-Général was, in the absence of a Prince of the Blood, to assume the command of the whole, above all the Maréchaux who served in this expedition. D'Humières, De Bellefonds, and De Créqui, remonstrated against the King's commands, and for their disobedience were deprived of their posts and exiled: nor were they restored again to favour until the College of Maréchaux of France declared it to be their duty under all circumstances to submit to the Sovereign.

Preparations of the Prince of Orange to defend Holland.

The Dutch proclaimed a *levée en masse* of all their militia, but could not for a time agree in the choice of a Commander-in-Chief. At length William III., Prince of Orange, although barely twenty-two years of age, was selected and declared Captain-General and Lord Admiral; although they refused him as yet the post of Stadtholder. He counselled, with a prudence and intelligence which were not consistent with the then practice of war, to evacuate and destroy many of the fortresses, and to unite their garrisons, in order to

1672. meet the enemy with a sufficient force in the field. But in this he was thwarted, so that he could only meet the difficulty by placing all the most inexperienced levies behind stone walls, collecting all the best he could assemble under his own command. But such was the condition of neglect into which the military power of the Republic had fallen, that he began the war almost as a General without an army. Neither the ties of blood nor of religion, nor the common interests of the two peoples, could induce Charles II. of England to assist his nephew against France. But the Empire, and Denmark, and other smaller States, sent the United Provinces their small contingents; and fourteen regiments of cavalry and seven of infantry were thus added to the Prince of Orange's army. He saw clearly enough that it was necessary for him to act solely on the defensive, and to await attack behind the natural protection of the waters of the Rhine, the Yssel, and the Meuse, while the lowlands bordering on the ocean could all be submerged, as a last resource. The frontier from Zutphen to Arnheim was the quarter on which the storm was most likely to fall, as it was necessary for the King to avoid the Netherlands, and consequently his advance must be from the countries on the further bank of the Rhine, or from the west side of the Meuse, which was guarded by Maestricht as a place d'armes, having a Spanish and Walloon garrison of 10,000 men.

The campaign opens: Turenne crosses the Rhine: capture of Nymeguen, 9th July.

Louis XIV., accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, quitted St. Germain in the last days of April, and joined the army at Charleroi, and on the banks of the Sambre. The Maréchal-Général forthwith broke up the camp, and on the 17th May advanced to Masaich, a small town in the Bishopric of Liége, which he summoned and captured. At a council of war it was determined to advance the army to the left bank of the Rhine, and to take possession of the strong places in the Duchy of Cleves, Wesel, Büderich, Rheinberg,

Orsoi, and Rees,—all of which were secured between the 1st and 9th June with little trouble. It was at first intended to lay siege to Nymeguen; but Turenne, on seeing that the waters of the rivers were at their lowest, counselled that the entire army should at once cross the river near the fort of Tolhuys, at the spot where the Wahal and Yssel separate. In spite of the fire which was brought upon the passage from the guns of the fort and from the Dutch, the passage was effected after considerable loss; many of the first who entered the stream were drowned, and among the killed and wounded were the two brothers-in-law—the Duc de Longueville and the Prince de Condé,—the former killed, and the latter so severely wounded as to be obliged to quit the army. The Prince of Orange, however, abandoned Tolhuys, and withdrew all his troops within the province of Utrecht. All the district called the Betau surrendered; all the strong places readily yielded; and on the 14th June Arnheim capitulated with 2000 men. On the 16th Turenne sat down before Nymeguen, and sent the Marquis de Rochefort with a detachment to sweep all the country to the left, and the Count de Lorges to overrun that on the right, where all the small fortresses hastened to open their gates. On the 9th July Nymeguen capitulated, after a short defence. The force of the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster, under the command of the Duke of Luxemburg, made an easy conquest of Overyssel; so that nothing appeared remaining to the Republic of the United Provinces but the country of Holland itself. 1672.

Amsterdam threatened: the Prince of Orange appointed Stadtholder: murder of the brothers De

The danger was now imminent for Amsterdam the capital; and the Prince of Orange divided his forces into five divisions to defend the respective approaches to it; Prince Maurice of Nassau commanded one at Muyden, the Count d'Horn another at Sluys, General Wurtz at Gloeum, and the Marquis of Luvigni at Schoenhoven; while the Prince of Orange himself took up his head-

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1672. quarters at Bodengrave, covering Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and the Hague. The spirit of the Dutch was elevated by the danger of the Republic; and they ordered the dykes to be cut every where, and overwhelmed the country with the salt sea, to repel the conqueror; while they declared William their Stadtholder, that the supreme power might be united in a single hand. The excitement of the invaded people was intense; and it was increased when the peace-party sent Van Groot to negotiate terms for the country. Louis XIV. arrogantly demanded the surrender of Lembourg, and Dutch Flanders, and Brabant, a free exercise of commerce with France, the public exercise of the Roman Catholic Faith, and twenty millions as an indemnity for the war. The people rejected such ignominious terms, and, rising in their fury against the brothers De Witt, murdered them in the streets on the 29th August. All Europe resented the haughty demands of France; the Elector of Brandenburg and the German Princes listened to the appeal, and their troops crossed the Rhine towards the end of August. The English nation sympathized with their Dutch friends; but King Charles, who was still held back by the influence of Louis XIV., tried to take advantage of the necessities of the Dutch to obtain fresh concessions at their expense. Under these circumstances there ensued a pause in affairs, and the King returned to Paris.

Witt, 29th Aug.: general resistance to Louis XIV.

The Maréchal-Général became Generalissimo on the departure of the King, and immediately marched away the army to meet the Great Elector, who was bringing down a force of 25,000 men to prevent the conquest of Holland. The Viscount recrossed the Rhine on the 10th September, and entered the Mark. The boldness of Turenne in thus advancing into the Empire to meet the foe, with the great river behind him, startled the confederates; nevertheless the Count Montecuculi and the Great Elector united their armies on the 12th

Turenne recrosses the Rhine, 10th Sept. Montecuculi takes the field against him, Oct.

at Hildesheim, and threatened to pass the Rhine at Coblentz. The Viscount, receiving a reinforcement, posted himself at Mulheim, near Cologne, and the Prince de Condé, recovered from his wound, took the command of 18,000 men on the side of Alsace, to check any further advance of the Germans, who accordingly remained stationary till the 12th October. 1672.

At the end of that month Turenne crossed the Rhine again at Andernach, where he threw over a bridge, and prepared to prevent the passage of the enemy. The fortress of Coblentz, on this side received a garrison from the Germans, who endeavoured to pass the river under its fire; but the Maréchal-Général was too much for them, and again thwarted an attempt near Mayence. In the beginning of November they made a bold attempt to cross at Strasburg; but the Prince de Condé was on the alert, and set fire to that bridge. Turenne was indefatigable in guarding the passage of the stream against the enemy at every point. The German armies, finding themselves foiled, and seeing that the Rhenish provinces afforded no good amount of supplies to their armies, crossed the Maine about the middle of December, and took up their winter quarters in Westphalia. The Duke of Luxemburg, in the mean while, awaited the appearance of frost to enter Holland by the ice across the inundations; but a sudden thaw on the 28th December stopped the design; and he satisfied his spite for a failure by laying waste, with every degree of barbarity, the abandoned provinces of the unhappy Dutch people. The campaign having thus been brought to an end, the Maréchal-Général placed the armies of the King in cantonments for the winter along the States of Alsace and Lorraine.

Unsuccessful attempts of the Imperialists to cross the Rhine: take up their winter quarters in Westphalia: excesses of the French in Holland.

1673.

During the winter, 1672, the Viscount occupied himself with the political affairs of his country, by extending and confirming the alliances of the small German princes with France. But towards the end of January the Count de Montecuculi, either from

Montecuculi retires from the command, January. Turenne pursues his

1673. — conquests: his endurance of hardship in winter quarters.

sickness or some vacillation of mind in the Emperor Leopold, quitted Paderborn, where he had placed his head-quarters, and did not return to the command of the Imperial armies till September. The whole weight of the contest in Germany devolved in consequence upon the Great Elector, who found himself scarcely equal to contend against Turenne and Condé with no better alliances in the country than the Duke of Lorraine and Bournonville. Upon council with these allies it was resolved to act so as to prevent the junction of the French armies. The Elector accordingly took the field on the 4th February by advancing with a considerable army, supplied with thirty guns, to Soest, where, however, he learnt that the apprehended junction had already taken place, and that Turenne was laying siege to Unna. This place surrendered to him on the 6th although garrisoned by 1000 men. In like manner Ham (on the river Lippe), Kamen, and the castle of Beckenbaum, yielded to the French either by abandonment or capitulation. The Elector collected all his army into a camp at Soest, but was obliged to lift it, and permit the Maréchal to lay siege to it; and it surrendered on the 25th. Under these disadvantages the Elector passed to the north of the river Lippe, and yielded possession of the entire Comté de la Marville. The spring this year was exceedingly backward, and the campaign was carried on through all the discomforts of a rigorous season. In one of these marches the Viscount, now sixty-three years old, bivouacked with his men, without any regard to age, and altogether indifferent to the discomfort of falling snow without cover. Turenne, however, was never a carpet-knight, and was from his strong constitution and hardy bringing up enabled to sleep as soundly under the open sky as Napoleon on his three-legged stool at Austerlitz. His soldiers, however, were unwilling to see their veteran chief risk his health in this manner; and, while he was fast asleep, built up a hut

with some boughs above his head; under which operation he awoke, and demanded why they were amusing themselves instead of preparing for the march. "We wish," said they, "to take care of our father; for if we lose him, who will take us back to our own country?" 1673.

The Viscount about the beginning of March drove the Electoral troops through Westphalia, and across the Weser at Hoxter, where there was a stone bridge. The country yielded but indifferent subsistence for armies at this season; and the Elector, finding the Dukes of Brunswick, Luxemburg, Zell, and Wolfenbuttle more solicitous to keep away the war from their States than to assist the cause, dispersed his army towards the end of March, and withdrew within his own dominions, whence he opened negotiations with France through the Viscount, who, armed with full power, negotiated a peace in April, which was duly ratified towards the end of May, when Frederick William, safe at Berlin, renounced all the engagements into which he had entered for the preservation of Holland.

The Elector makes terms with Turenne, and abandons the cause of the Dutch, May.

Turenne had now disembarrassed himself of all opponents in Germany; but he did this so noiselessly, that Louis XIV., being long without any report of his proceedings, began to listen to the reproaches of his enemies. But indeed he was never so great and so trustworthy as while thus intent on *duty* to the depreciation of *glory*, like our own great Duke in after times. Resembling each other in many things, there was an equal disinterestedness in seeking after any personal advantages. As this was not a characteristic of the Generals of the seventeenth century, I will relate an anecdote or two recorded of our hero. An opportunity was pointed out to him by one of his Generals in the remote Westphalia—where they were making war—of obtaining a considerable prize for himself, which could never reach the ears of the distant Court. His reply was

Anecdote illustrative of Turenne's disinterestedness.

1673. calm and characteristic:—"Je vous suis fort obligé; mais comme j'ai souvent trouvé de semblables occasions sans en avoir jamais profité, je ne crois pas devoir changer de conduit à mon âge." On another occasion one of the great towns offered him 100,000 crowns if he would not bring his army through their streets; whereupon he sent them word that, as their town did not lie in his line of march, he could not accept the money they offered him. The Viscount now abandoned the sterile North, and carried his troops into the rich provinces of Franconia and Thuringia, until, on the 6th June, he encamped at Wetzlar, near Frankfort on the Maine.

Louis XIV. takes the command in person, and takes Maestricht, 23rd June: magnanimous conduct of the Dutch.

Louis XIV. had already opened the campaign of 1673 in person, having openly declared to his minister, Louvois, that he was no longer to be deemed under the tutelage of any one, and that therefore he was Commander-in-Chief of all his armies. He resolved this year to take the field in South Brabant at the head of 40,000 men, sending forward the Prince de Condé to maintain a front at Utrecht. The King, with Vauban, sat down before Maestricht on the 10th June, and took it after thirteen days of open trenches; but he could neither maintain his position nor advance further into Holland. The entire province was one sheet of water; and the noble Dutch met the tyrant who would enslave them out of mere caprice by a devotion to the cause of freedom which has been very rarely exhibited in the world's history. Condé fell ill, and was obliged to retire into Flanders for the benefit of his health; and the King left him there with 20,000 men, while he himself marched towards the German frontier.

England joins the alliance against France: the Prince of Orange effects a

But diplomacy now lent its aid to check the career of Louis XIV. Spain, alarmed by the success of the French armies, solicited the Emperor to more earnest action; and Leopold at length entered the Dutch Confederacy with so much faith, that when he marched away his army from Egra, on the 26th August, to take

the field with Montecuculi, he headed the column with a crucifix in his hand, calling on God to witness the justice of his cause. The English Parliament, disgusted with their King's subserviency to Louis XIV., and roused to anger by the conduct of the French Admiral D'Estrées in the naval battles in June against De Ruyter, where it was said that the French fleet held aloof, in order that the English ships might be destroyed, forced the Government to break the alliance with France, and to join the Confederacy in October. Louis XIV., accordingly, who had begun the campaign without an enemy, now found himself in less than six months without a single friend. He sent immediate orders, therefore, to the Duke of Luxemburg to withdraw all his troops out of Holland; and the Prince of Orange, freed from any further anxieties for his native land, quitted Amsterdam under a blaze of illumination for their safety, and joined the Spaniards near Herenthals, to invade the territories of Cleves and Cologne. After having repaid to the allies of France some of the miseries which had been inflicted on the Dutch, he marched towards Bonn, to give the hand to Montecuculi. In his march the Prince succeeded by a stratagem in gaining possession of Naerden from the Duke of Luxemburg. It was the first-fruits of a real success, and rejoiced the Dutch people as much as it irritated the French King, who vented his indignation against M. du Pas, the governor, by a public mark of ignominy, and a sentence of perpetual imprisonment; which latter punishment was, however, remitted.

1673. — junction with the Spaniards, and retakes Naerden.

Turenne, under this new condition of affairs, broke up his camp at Wetzlar in August. He crossed the Maine at Seligenstadt with 20,000 men, and, ascending its stream, penetrated the Upper Palatinate to influence by his support the inclinations of the Duke of Bavaria to maintain the alliance with France. He found, however, the Imperialists on his path, and was glad to retrace his steps about the middle of September.

Turenne and Montecuculi pitted against each other.

1673. — Montecuculi was at Nuremburg, threatening either to invade Alsace, or to secure a junction with the Stadtholder on the side of Holland. The two armies came in sight of each other near Rottembourg. And now the opposing leaders began that game of manœuvres which was so characteristic of the future career of their antagonism. Montecuculi, not daring to turn his back upon the Viscount, but yet desirous of avoiding an action, marched forward in order of battle. Turenne accordingly formed his line; but as soon as the Austrian saw the French army thus occupied, he marched away his second line, which was soon followed by the third, and the Imperialist army retired in good order towards Wurzburg, where it rested, in a country abounding in every requisite for subsistence, and where the Viscount had formed immense magazines for the French army.

Montecuculi effects a junction with the Prince of Orange; they take Bonn, 17th November.

On the 3rd October Montecuculi lifted his camp, and, keeping the Maine between the armies, began his move towards Mayence, and established his head-quarters at Hersheim about the 20th, when the Prince of Orange had reached Bonn. The Viscount was puzzled as to what might be his next move. The Prince de Condé, now that the conquest of Holland was given up, was amassing strength in Flanders, that he might keep the Prince of Orange occupied. But yet it was of first importance that Alsace should not be invaded; and the Maréchal-Général kept a sharp eye upon Montecuculi's steps, and tried hard to see through his artifices. The Imperialists worked at a bridge of boats over one branch of the Rhine up stream, at Weissenau; but while Turenne was crossing the Neckar on the 25th, the Imperialists dropped down the stream, by the boats they had collected, towards Coblentz. The Viscount on this crossed the Rhine to Philipsburg, and marched by the Hundsruch on Treves; but he found that the Elector, upon the retreat of the Germans, had withdrawn his bridges across the rivers at Coblentz; and

that Montecuculi effected his junction with the Prince of Orange at Bonn, when they together laid siege to that town, which capitulated after nine days' trenches, on the 17th November. 1673.

Turenne found now that he could no longer rely upon any German alliance. The Electors Palatine and of Cologne, and the Bishop of Munster, abandoned the French cause: and accordingly the Maréchal-Général put an end to the campaign, and distributed the French troops in winter quarters in Alsace, Lorraine, and Hainault, while he himself repaired to the Court. The King could not fail to observe his low spirits, and good-naturedly endeavoured to cheer the great hero with every demonstration of kindness and respect. He freely consulted with him on the past campaign, the adverse character of which he attributed to the counsels of his minister Louvois. The Viscount, who knew that the minister hated him, although he did not himself respond to the passion, simply replied, that Louvois was a very useful servant to His Majesty in the cabinet, but knew nothing of war. The young King took his old Maréchal to his heart, and said, "Although they all hate you, I will never desert you. One of them told me, that had he been in your place he would have saved Bonn without risking Alsace." The Viscount answered with simple frankness, "I can assure your Majesty that if he would have told me how to do it, I would have readily profited by his counsels." Turenne, worsted, repairs to Paris; his kind reception by the King.

1674.

Caprara, Major-General of the Imperialist army, took the field in the spring by making one or two excursions across the Rhine, which rather disturbed the plan of operations determined upon by Louis XIV., which was to repay himself for his disappointment in Holland by opening the campaign of 1674 in Franche Comté. He therefore hastened Turenne away from Paris, to take measures that might prevent his being disturbed in its conquest. Accordingly, in the month of April four French armies took the field for this object. Louis XIV. again takes the field: Turenne at the Rhine: his military code.

1674. The King in person, with a considerable force, marched — to Dôle. The Maréchal de Schomberg covered the Spanish frontier, and the Prince de Condé the Flemish; while the Viscount, as before, commanded on the Rhine. His advice was of course asked, and pretty generally adopted by all the commanders; and as it is a complete enunciation of what has been stated above as the new military code of Turenne, I give it here in the original language, "Faire peu de siéges—et donner beaucoup de combats quand vous aurez rendu votre armée supérieure à celle des ennemis par le nombre et par la bonté des troupes. Quand vous serez bien maître de la campagne, les villages vous vaudront des places: mais on met son honneur à prendre une ville forte, bien plus qu'à songer aux moyens de conquérir une province."

Turenne again encounters the Imperialists, 16th June.

As soon as the King had obtained possession of Franche Comté, Turenne threw a bridge over the Rhine at Philipsburg, which he crossed at mid-day on the 14th June; and he arrived the same evening at Hockenheim, near Heidelberg. On the 15th he encamped at Wisloch, and on the 16th found himself face to face with the Imperialist force, under the Count Caprara, on a height beyond Sintzheim, consisting of 7000 horse and 2000 foot. The French army under the Maréchal-Général consisted of 3500 foot and of 5000 horse, divided into four brigades, the whole commanded by Beauvergé. The opposing forces were nearly equal in numbers; but the proportions of foot and horse were different; the little town of Sintzheim, situated on the little river Elsatz, was garrisoned by Caprara with 1200 infantry and 400 dragoons. The French could only count six guns, and therefore resolved to take the town by escalade, which was promptly determined upon and effected.

Action between the French and the Impe-

The Imperialists occupied high ground, scarped on either flank, of which the right was secured by a vineyard, and the left by the walls of an old abbey. The

first attack, led by the cavalry, was not fortunate; and Beauvergé, the Commander, was mortally wounded. The Chevalier d'Hocquincourt on this took the command of the horse, and, clearing the way with the assistance of some musketeers, pushed up a narrow defile; where, being followed by the rest of the army, the whole was established on the lower slope of the hill that was occupied by the enemy: and as the ground was narrow, the army was formed up in several lines, —the cavalry and infantry interspersed in each of them. St. Alvé, the Lieutenant-General, was immediately ordered to lead forward the attack, but it was encountered and overcome; until the presence of the Viscount accomplished a real advance which enabled him to extend the front of his battle array so as to get eighteen squadrons in his first line, which had previously comprised only eight.

1674. — rialists at Sintzheim.

It is difficult to understand why the Germans allowed the French thus to improve their position under their very nose; and, so far as one can understand the battle, it seems henceforth to have been a perfect medley —horse, foot, officers and men, all contending in terrible confusion and amid great carnage. In the dust that covered the conflict the Imperialists fell back into a wood, and disappeared altogether! The next morning, the 17th, the French returned to Sintzheim, and the Imperialists fell back on Heidelberg. The one lost 1100 and the other 2000. Why the French victorious army "crut devoir répasser le Rhin" on the 20th, is equally unintelligible; and the more so, that on the 3rd July their army is found in Alsace near Kaiserslâutern. One account relates that Turenne received orders at this time to return into France to oppose a body of Imperialists under Monsieur de Souches, who had penetrated into the country between the Maréchal-Général's and Prince Condé's armies, and that his return across the Rhine was an entire relief from this danger. What still fur-

Unaccountable tactics of the Imperialists.

1674. ther surprises me, however, in the history of the incident of the combat of Sintzheim, is, that the "English" are mentioned as taking part in it:—"My Lord Douglas, with four battalions, with My Lords Hamilton and Monmouth as Brigadiers, My Lord Duras, and My Lord Galloway (an indifferent officer, a Frenchman by birth, who attained a sort of celebrity in after years under William III.);" but last, not least, the French historians record "Un jeune capitaine anglais du nom de Churchill s'y couvrit de gloire. Turenne enseignait l'art de vaincre au futur Duc de Marlborough." I can only suppose that all these British officers were part of a detachment sent by Charles II., under the Duke of Monmouth, to assist in the war against Holland, in 1672; for it is a known fact, that through Lockhart (still apparently on mission at Paris) an application was made to the French Government to grant Churchill the rank of Colonel in the King's service, in March 1674, and that the names of Monmouth and a Colonel Littleton are also brought to the notice of the French Minister of War in the same despatch[9]. The only intelligible account I can render of Turenne's movements, backwards and forwards across the Rhine, between Alsace and the Palatinate, is, that the Imperialists had been increased by the arrival of the Duke de Bournonville with 13,000 or 14,000 men which induced him to withdraw out of Germany; and that the Maréchal-Général was waiting the result of the King's campaign in Franche Comté. He had sent the Marquis de Rumigni to report the affair at Sintzheim, who encountered the King returning to Paris after his most successful termination of the conquest of that province; and it is probable that under these circumstances Louis XIV. sent him back again across the Rhine, with a reinforcement of sixteen battalions and 6000 horse, and with orders to capture the Palatinate.

[9] See Stanhope's Miscellanies.

On the first days in July we find the Viscount passing Heidelberg, where the Imperialists were posted, and taking up his camp at the village of Weillingen, on the Neckar, a league and a half from Luxemburg. The two armies were now in face. Generals Caprara and Bournonville, however, do not appear to have thought themselves equal to any encounter, and accordingly marched away towards Frankfort, and placed the river Maine between themselves and their adversaries. 1674. Turenne encamps on the Neckar, July.

The absence of the Imperialists, however, left the entire Palatinate uncovered; and the French historians, as well as those of every other nation, grieve over the blot in our great hero's escutcheon for the ravage of this rich and populous district of Germany; but great will be the astonishment of our readers to learn that this vile act was all the fault of the "red-coats." This is the French relation:—"Les Anglais, irrités de cette inhumanité (the natural resentment of the inhabitants against the Maréchal-Général's army), se livrèrent à leur ressentiment, allèrent comme des furieux, le flambeau à la main, brûlèrent quantité de bourgs et de villages et même quelques petites villes; leur vengeance fut si prompte que les officiers ne purent les retenir; et sans les menaces et les ordres de Turenne, qui arrêta leur fureur, ils auraient saccagé tout le pays; il fit un châtiment exemplaire de ceux qui avaient commencé l'incendie, quoiqu'ils fussent les plus brave soldats de son armée. Il ne peut les condamner à mort sans se faire une extrême violence; mais comme il s'agissait de maintenir la discipline, il fit céder la clémence à la sévérité." If the British had indeed done any part of what is here laid to their charge, I would be the last man to offer an excuse for them; but the endeavour to transfer the most unjustifiable devastation of the Palatinate by Turenne from the French to the English troops, is a violation of historical truth, and an insolence that merits exposure. Neither Voltaire nor any The Palatinate ravaged: the English troops calumniated.

1674. historian of note has ever ventured to give circulation to such a scandal.

Turenne challenged by the Prince Palatine, July.

The unhappy Prince Palatine, in the letter he addressed to the Maréchal-Général on the 27th July, 1674, puts the saddle on the right horse. "L'embrasement de mes bourgs et villages, que j'ai sujet de croire avoir été fait par vos ordres, est une chose si extraordinaire et si indigne d'une personne de votre qualité, que je suis en peine d'en imaginer les raisons." Charles Louis, enraged at the dastard act of one who covered his violence by an army too numerous for the Elector to meet in the field with a proportionate force, challenged Turenne to single combat as his only resource while awaiting the Divine wrath against so unchristian an act. But the King forbad such an encounter; and his reply neither denied nor justified the act. Voltaire says, with respect to the Maréchal's letter, "C'était assez le style et l'usage de Turenne, de s'exprimer toujours avec modération et ambiguité."

The French recross the Rhine, 28th July.

The French army continued to ravage the Palatinate until the 28th July, when it again recrossed the Rhine at Philipsburg, and took up its camp near Neustadt, Landau, and Weissenburg, where it rested the whole of August. The excesses of the men, or the heat of the weather, brought on a severe dysentery, which caused much mortality amongst the soldiers.

The Imperialists again take the field: the King unadvisedly counsels Turenne to retire.

In the mean while the Imperialists, increased by the contingents of many of the States of the Empire, under the supreme command of the Duke de Bournonville, with the Elector Palatine serving under him, resolved to take the field; and on the 1st September crossed the bridge at Mayence, and, marching up stream, encamped between Spire and Philipsburg, with 35,000 men. The King sent pressing orders to his Maréchal-Général to withdraw before such a force, and to content himself with covering the province of Lorraine. Turenne answered His Majesty with a letter of sound strategic reasoning. He assured his

Sovereign that the ill consequence of a lost battle would be less than to abandon Alsace, with its many excellent positions of defence. The Imperialists, once masters of the whole country between Mayence and Basle, would carry the war into Franche Comté, and perhaps fire and sword into the province of Champagne. "Je connais, Sire, la force des troupes Impériales, les Généraux qui les commandent, le pays où je suis. Je prends tout sur moi, et je me charge des évènemens." Louvois was obliged to obey his resolute Sovereign, and sent to the Maréchal-Général twenty battalions and eighty squadrons; so that now Turenne's army counted upwards of 20,000 men. 1674.

The Germans, still retaining their camp, began the construction of a bridge not far from Philipsburg; which induced the belief that they purposed to besiege that fortress. The inaccessible nature of their camp prevented a corps of observation of 500 men, under Churchill, from ascertaining the object of this bridge. But at length, on the 21st September, the Imperial army crossed it, and abandoned their camp, which they set on fire. It soon appeared that the object of the enemy was to obtain possession of the bridge of Strasburg, where the intrigues of the Germans had raised a feeling in their favour, in opposition to the policy of the magistrates of that city, who had always hitherto remained neuter in the contest. The Viscount, accordingly, sent the Marquis de Vaubrun, with two battalions, 500 or 600 horse, and some guns, to negotiate, and take an observation of the fort constructed at the foot of the bridge. Turenne followed in person, but found the redoubt already in possession of the Germans, under the command of Von Mercy, the son of the great General of that name. He therefore called up his army from Vinden, and took up a position on the banks of the Ill, near Wantzenau, where he assembled his whole force on the 25th. The Imperialists in the mean while encamped at Graverstaden,

The Imperialists at Strasburg: they encounter the French at Ensheim, 4th Oct.

1674. and thus held the whole of the upper Alsace with nearly 40,000 men, while they were daily expecting the arrival of the Great Elector, who had again declared war against France, and was bringing up an army of 20,000 men to assist the Germans. The Viscount saw himself, under these circumstances, placed at such a disadvantage, that, although he had but 22,000 available force, he resolved to make an attack upon his adversaries before they could receive their reinforcements. At nightfall, on the 2nd October, he therefore marched in search of the foe, and on the 3rd found them encamped in a plain near Ensheim, strongly posted, with a large wood on their right. Marching all night, he formed up at break of day on the 4th, in front of the little village of Holzheim, situated on the Breusch rivulet.

The French army, face to face with the confederate Germans, formed up in a firm order of battle in two lines, with a reserve—the cavalry and infantry intermingled, as at the battle of Sintzheim,—amounted, as has been said, to 22,000 men, with thirty guns. The Count de Lorges commanded, under Turenne, as Lieutenant-General on their left, and the Marquis de Vaubrun was in charge of the right. The Marquis Douglas is named as serving with the rank of Brigadier under Foucault, the Lieutenant-General of the centre, and Milord Duras, as aide-de-camp to the Maréchal-Général: while it is recorded that, as His Excellency rode down the line, the English "poussèrent un cri de joie, qui lui parut être de bon augure." The Duke de Bournonville had already ranged his army of 35,000 men, with fifty guns, immediately behind the village of Ensheim, in two lines, with a very strong reserve, across the high road leading from Kocklesperg to Wolffsheim. His right was commanded by Count Caprara, and his left by the Duke of Holstein-Ploen. The former flank rested on a large wood and many vineyards; and the opposite flank on a little advanced

wood, in which there had been thrown up some earth-works. The village in his centre was very strong from natural as well as artificial defences. 1674.

The day broke with so thick a fog that one could not see the presence of any enemy; and accordingly the Maréchal-Général sent some dragoons, under the Marquis de Boufflers, with some light guns, to *tâtonner* the little wood that protected the enemy's left flank. This, in a short time, brought on a sharp contest. The battalions of Burgundy, Orleans, Monmouth, Listenay, Languedoc, and Churchill, successively came under fire; and were not only opposed by the troops intrenched in the wood, but also by the infantry of Luneburg, which the Germans sent up to maintain the flank. This obliged Turenne to send up the regiments of Hamilton, Anjou, and Brittany, and to support them with all the cavalry of his first line, under the Count de Roye, while he prepared to call to his assistance some troops from his centre and left. The fight lasted for three hours, with great loss on both sides. The Marquis de Vaubrun, who commanded the attack, had a horse killed under him; and the Marquis of Hamilton was severely wounded. The battle at Ensheim.

In the mean while the Count de Lorges, who witnessed the battle warming on the side of the Maréchal-Général, thought to aid his attack by advancing the left wing; and was already in the midst of the vineyards, when the order came for sending assistance to the attack on the right; and, while this order was about to be obeyed, a considerable body of German cavalry, under Caprara, came down with extraordinary quickness, completely round the French left wing, and upon the reserve. Lieutenant-General Foucault in the centre hastened to show front to repel this movement; and the Count de Lorges and D'Auvergne, withdrawing from the vineyards, rallied to this formation, and successfully repelled the enemy from their dangerous inroad behind the army. The fog had

1674. changed to rain, which came down with pitiless violence all through the day, and made the night so dark as to render it impossible to continue the contest. Turenne, therefore, called in his men on every side, and withdrew them across the Breusch rivulet, and through the village of Holzheim, encamping them on fresh ground, near the village of Achenheim, to await the coming day. To his surprise, he found in the morning that the Duke de Bournonville had also withdrawn his army towards Strasburg. Here the Imperialists were joined on the 14th by the army of the Great Elector, who crossed the bridge with nearly 20,000 men; and the German army, now retracing their steps, pursued Turenne beyond Achenheim, where he had thrown up some intrenchments. A characteristic anecdote is told of a French soldier, whom the Maréchal "roughed" for not working better, on which with characteristic shrewdness he replied, "C'est, mon général, que vous ne demeurez pas longtems ici." It may be mentioned in passing, that the English are named in the life of Turenne as having behaved with great bravery at Ensheim.

The great disparity of force had been sufficiently apparent to induce the Maréchal-Général to forecast the necessity of taking up an intrenched camp; and he fixed upon Dettweiler, on the river Sour, as an asylum where he could post his army with security; from whence, in case of necessity, he could remove them under the guns of Saverne and Haquenau.

Turenne receives reinforcements.

Matters remained without any change till the end of October, excepting that the Maréchal-Général was continually receiving reinforcements from the Prince de Condé, whose army, as well as that of his opponents, after the bloody fight at Scarpe had gone into early winter quarters. Maréchal de Crequi, with 6000 horse, the Marquises de Genlis and de Montauban, the Count de Saulx, La Feuillée, and Sourdis, and a body of gendarmerie, reached him in the camp of Dettweiler.

By the end of November both armies had taken up cantonments — the Imperialists in Alsace, and the French in Lorraine. 1674. —

About the middle of December the Viscount planned an inroad upon the Imperialists in Alsace, and quietly collected a corps d'armée of 14,000 men at Béfort on the 27th, whence he advanced the following day on Mulhausen, where he beat up the Imperialists, making prisoners of the Commandant and about 300 horse. The principal consequence of the enterprise was, that De Bournonville and the Elector took the field on the 30th, and on the 5th January, 1675, established a camp between Turkheim and Colmar, where Turenne advanced upon them in two columns; and, having established his right on the plain opposite Colmar, under the Count de Lorges, he himself led the left to Turkheim, which he found unoccupied; the Imperialists having unaccountably withdrawn the two battalions that had been posted in it, and left their army to the protection of the little river Fech. Foucault, with the regiments of Navarre, de la Reine, d'Anjou, and d'Orléans, being advertised from Turkheim that the Imperialists were sending down a strong force to retake Turkheim, immediately combined with the Count de Roye, and occupied the low grounds adjoining the village and the river, while the Maréchal-Général sent forward the English and other infantry to occupy the high ground beyond it; and an anxious combat continued for three hours into the night, during which the Imperialists lifted their camp, and on the 11th crossed the Rhine, and left Strasburg to maintain its neutrality. This event terminated a campaign that is thought to have been highly honourable to the reputation of Maréchal de Turenne, who upheld the honour and advanced the interests of France against many disadvantages. He was accordingly ordered by the King to place his army under the command of the Marquis de Vaubrun, and to repair to the Court. Here

1675. Turenne defeats the Imperialists near Colmar, 5th Jan.: he visits Paris: his complaint against Louvois.

1675. he considered himself again under the necessity of carrying a complaint to the King against the minister Louvois for inefficient assistance, in which the Prince de Condé concurred; and by the Royal command the parties met, and made a somewhat cold reconciliation.

The King resumes the command, 11th May: Turenne and Montecuculi are again face to face.

Louis XIV., with the Prince de Condé, quitted Paris to take the command of the army in Flanders on the 11th May, 1675; and on the same day the Maréchal-Général repaired to Schélestadt, where Vaubrun had assembled his army, and where he arrived on the 22nd. The Count de Montecuculi was destined to be once again his antagonist; and now commenced the campaign of grand manœuvres, which was to terminate the military career of both these most distinguished warriors. Montecuculi was despatched by the Court of Vienna to repair the blunders of the Confederate German Generals of the last campaign; but some of his best veterans were to be drawn from winter quarters as far away as Liége and the interior of Suabia; he was therefore not yet on the spot when the Viscount rejoined his army, who accordingly had time to carry it on the 27th to Achenheim, where he thought to prevent Montecuculi from crossing the Rhine near Strasburg. This diligence of Turenne effectively obliged his antagonist to make a change in his original plan for the campaign, for he marched straight on Philipsburg, where he ostentatiously assembled the material for making a flying bridge, and caused a report to be circulated of his intention to lay siege to that fortress. The Maréchal-Général immediately mounted his horse, and repaired to Philipsburg, into which he threw 500 more infantry, and placed D'Enanville, an officer of high reputation, as Governor; after which he returned to his camp.

Turenne crosses the Rhine, 8th June.

Montecuculi carried his army across the Rhine near Spire, and sent forward cavalry to Landau and Neustadt, pushing his outposts even to Lautenburg, to

PLAN DES DIFFERENS CAMPS
du Vicomte de Turenne
& du Comte de Montecuculli.
Dans l'Ortnaw:
En l'Année 1675.
BASSE ALSACE
STRAS-BOURG
RHIN
Erstein
Groven Staden
Eschaw
Kel
Fort de Kel
Marlen
Newmuhl
Boderswihr
Fort et Ponts
Eckerswihr
Willstett
Millen
Alt
Mereburg
Schutterwalt
Griesen
Leuthurst
Boltzhurst
Brunshurst
Bihel
Renchen
Zimern
Winschlig
Stadelhaven
Rohrbach
Widergrin
OFFENBOURG
Oberschopfen
Hugsweyer
Ortenbourg
Schwartzbach
Guengenbach
Lohr
Oberkarch
Holtzhausen
Helmetingen
Lichtenau
Schortzen
Waurscheit
Echelle d'une heure de 3000 pas Geometriques
+ Place où Turenne écrit Poppé.
B.Adiard Sc.

cause Turenne to take alarm for Haquenau; but nothing could induce the Viscount to stir from the vicinity of Strasburg. However, having reviewed his army on the 30th, he relied on their goodwill and attachment to his person, to detach his Lieutenant-General Vaubrun, with six or seven regiments and six guns, to Erstein on the Ill, about three leagues and a half above Strasburg; and he desired them to work hard at a point opposite Ottenheim, where the Rhine divides itself into five branches, parted by an island on which might be found plenty of wood, while supplies required for the purpose could be despatched to him down the river from Brissac. As soon therefore as the Maréchal-Général found from the Commandant at Philipsburg that the Imperialists had crossed the river near that place, and had satisfied himself by his personal observation that all was in order at Ottenheim, he gave his army four days' bread, and on the 7th June put them in march to cross the new bridge, over which he passed Vaubrun as the advanced guard, and the next morning encamped his army between the villages of Willstett and Echersvihr, thus giving the change to his adversary, to whom he now occasioned the same anxiety for Strasburg that he had devised to be caused for Haquenau. Montecuculi had learnt that the Maréchal-Général was forming a bridge to cross the Rhine, but did not expect it to be so quickly finished. He had, however, even taken the precaution of occupying Offenbourg, and placing it in a condition to resist a *coup de main*, where now he sent his Lieutenant-General, Sporch, with a body of cavalry, who reached that place on the 12th, when he learnt that Turenne had already made a demonstration against it. The rest of the army followed; and on the 14th the two armies appeared in force upon the banks of the Kinche, at the distance of about a league and a half from each other. 1675.

Turenne collects his forces toge-

Turenne expected that his adversary would next endeavour to get possession of Ottenheim in his rear;

1675. — ther near Aldenheim, 26th June.

and sent the Count de Lorges, with eight battalions, three brigades of cavalry, and eight guns, to take post at Aldenheim, midway between the camp at Willstett and his bridge. On the 18th he was apprised that the entire Imperialist army had lifted their camp, and, it was said, had marched towards the Brisgau and the Black Forest. While, however, the Maréchal-Général was thinking on these things, word was brought in from the Marquis d'Harcourt, who commanded an outpost of De Lorges's corps d'armée, that forty squadrons of the enemy had appeared in his front, and that, as he feared to be cut off if he should retire on the bridges and separate himself entirely from M. de Lorges, he had taken up a position to stop them. Turenne sent word by the messenger "that the Marquis had done a bold act; but that the result would prove whether it was a fault." Nevertheless he desired the whole force to fall back to Meissenheim, to be nearer the bridge. He was soon apprised that Montecuculi had taken up a new position on the Schutter, resting its right on Lohr; and accordingly the Viscount deemed it more prudent to place his bridge in better security near Aldenheim, which he effected on the 26th; and his entire army was now reunited in one position between that and Willstett.

Turenne and Montecuculi strive to out-manœuvre each other, July: their personal characteristics.

Montecuculi, being thus anticipated, began to be distressed for supplies; and, returning for a few days to his old camp near Offenbourg, he took up ground near Brunshurst, which threatened a more direct approach upon the Fort de Kehl. Turenne accordingly marched away to Boderswihr, which would flank any march towards the bridge leading to Strasburg: and thus both armies rested till the 3rd July. On that day the Imperialists again removed, and took up a very strong position behind the Renchen, and the French army advanced to Bischen; and now both armies set to work to intrench themselves, the advanced sentries being within musket-shot of each other. Here

both Generals exhausted all their art to prevent the supplies required for their troops from ascending and descending the Rhine, and both armies suffered much from the privations consequent on these clever manœuvres. The two commanders were nearly of the same age, both having attained the grand climacteric: but Montecuculi suffered a great deal from gout; whereas Turenne had none of the infirmities of age or sickness, and was as active as heretofore. He reconnoitred in person and in the minutest detail the entire course of the Renchen, behind which the Imperialists lay, and was enabled to spy almost behind their intrenchments. Nevertheless the weather continued so wet for two months consecutively, that it was impossible to devise the means of making any attempt on their position. 1675.

Turenne crosses the Renchen to the surprise of the Imperialists, 15th July.

At length a countryman who knew every inch of the ground came across the Viscount's path, and showed him a ford across the Renchen in a dark corner of the stream, which was not approached by any road, and never used but by the cattle that roamed along the bank in search of pasturage. On the 10th July the weather moderated, and at that time of year the sun soon lessened the stream and dried the earth; so that, having collected fascines and the necessary tools, orders were given at nightfall on the 15th to move to the spot indicated; and with a good deal of labour a road was made strong enough to carry some guns; and the detachment in charge were set to work at midnight. It happened that the Imperialists were keeping a rejoicing for some victory they had gained over the Swedes; and as they were revelling, discharging guns, and making a great noise, it was supposed that they were getting rather deep in their cups. When, therefore, they got sober, they found that their opponents had already thrown a bridge across the stream, and raised an earthwork to protect its head, while an island very near was also occupied with a guard of infantry. That no time might be lost, the 18th was fixed for attempting

1675. a passage; on which day Hamilton took his turn as Brigadier with three battalions of Irish on the island, and two more at the bridge; while the Maréchal-Général himself, with a brigade of cavalry, marched under the corner of the forest to Wagshurst, where they swam the river. Other troops were brought up from the rear to occupy the town of Renchen, higher up stream; and the camp itself was left almost without a soldier.

Action at Satzbach: death of Turenne, 27th July.

Montecuculi was no indifferent spectator of these preparations, and sent to bring up from Offenbourg every available man, in order to insult the rear of his adversary and alarm him for his communications. Some days were exhausted in this *sparring* before either struck a blow. It was therefore the night of the 23rd when the attack commenced. In the dark the troops of Lorraine came across the line of march of the Count du Plessis, when a skirmish began, that lasted for some time, under which the troops led by the Marquis de Vaubrun were enveloped, and he himself was wounded, and narrowly escaped being taken. The Viscount immediately lined all the roads and hedges with musketeers, which checked the Imperial advance, while a heavy fog rendered the whole contest a mass of blunders and mistakes. But when at length this cleared off, the Viscount discovered that the chaussée on which he was marching at the head of some troops led to the village of Gamhurst, and that he was not far removed from Hamilton, who, with his Irish, still held the ford; accordingly the French army continued straight forward. Turenne brought up a body of cavalry; which Montecuculi, finding himself outflanked, resisted stoutly, although he discovered that he should be obliged to quit the post of Schertzen. On the night therefore of the 25th he withdrew his army out of their intrenchments, and marched them away through Lichtenau. Nevertheless, he did not long pursue that line of retreat, but echelonned to his left; so that in the morning, when Turenne came up,

he found the Imperialists strongly posted in a defile in rear of the Satzbach, while other troops were moving up from Offenbourg under Caprara. Turenne, as soon as he learned the inclination of his adversary's retreat, directed the march of his own troops on Acheren; and after riding along in the highest spirits, he sat down to his breakfast, and said to some of his suite, "Ceci est fait, je les tiens, ils ne pourront plus m'échapper; et je vais recueiller le fruit d'un si pénible campagne." He again mounted his horse to reconnoitre the ground, very much intersected as it was about Satzbach, and therefore difficult of observation; until M. St.-Hilaire, Lieutenant-General of Artillery, drew his attention to a battery erected by the enemy at the very moment when a shot fired from it struck both down to the ground, St.-Hilaire losing his arm by the same ball that buried itself in the stomach of Turenne, who fell dead to the ground, with his face upturned and his regard unchanged. Among the six or eight persons who formed the Maréchal-Général's suite, was the English Count of Hamilton, who, descending from his horse, threw his cloak over the body, to conceal the death from the knowledge of the soldiers. But the piebald charger of the Viscount soon announced the fact to the soldiery, for this well-known guide to success and victory was seen to have lost its rider. The consternation among the troops was extreme—the men tore their hair and ran wildly about, exclaiming, "Our father is dead, and we are lost!" There appears to be some confusion of dates as to whether it was the 26th or 27th on which the great Maréchal fell; but it was the 28th when the command of the army was assumed by the Count de Lorges and the Marquis of Vaubrun, who in a council of war resolved to carry back the army across the Rhine. 1675.

All France lamented the loss of the greatest man who ever fell in battle. The King ordered the highest honours to be paid to the Maréchal-Général's remains, General regret for the loss of Turenne: Ma-

1675. and the body was carried to St. Denys, where it was interred among the Kings and Princes of the Kingdom. The letters of Madame de Sevigné, written from Paris at the moment that the sad news of the Viscount's death reached the capital, are very interesting. "On était prêt d'aller se divertir à Fontainebleau. Tout a été rompu. Le Roi a été affligé comme on doit l'être de la mort du plus grand capitaine et du plus honnête homme du monde. Jamais un homme a été regretté si sincèrement. Tout le quartier où il a logé, et tout Paris, et tout le peuple, était dans le trouble et dans l'émotion."

— dame de Sevigné's description of it.

Character of Turenne.

Maréchal de Turenne was not only one of the greatest Commanders of any army, but was actuated by the purest zeal for the service of his country. To the greatest courage in the field he added the highest integrity and the most perfect simplicity of character; and there was a remarkable moderation of judgment in all his opinions, whether relating to war or to politics. People of the time compared him with Gonsalvo de Cordoba, surnamed "the Great General," but I see a wonderful degree of resemblance between Turenne and our own immortal Wellington. The characteristics of both were, not so much native-born genius, as the constant exercise of a cool judgment under every difficulty and an amount of solid good sense on every occasion; indeed, the word *Duty*, as contradistinguished to the tinsel of *Glory*, was the watchword of both the one and the other. We have seen how constantly the Cardinal Mazarin, acting for the King, referred the many difficulties of the Government for his advice; and there are many anecdotes of individuals of his army seeking his good offices in their little differences,—a strong resemblance in both. It is related of the Viscount that, being naturally a subject of much jealousy with his less fortunate companions, he was exposed to many reproaches for want of courage, want of ability, &c. The more violent of these rivals went

so far as to try to provoke him to single combat. He put aside all the cartels he thus received without the slightest notice, until, when engaged in the siege of some fortified town, a desperate attack was to be undertaken; and he then sent a formal reply to each of the challengers, acquainting them that he had duly received their cartels, but deferred to acknowledge them until the opportunity occurred for enabling the writers to exhibit their courage in the King's service. He therefore now desired the company of each and all of them to conduct the assault of a bastion, when he would be ready to lead them to the attack. It is not related how many attended the summons. 1675.

Beneath an unprepossessing exterior there were hidden in Maréchal de Turenne qualities well fitted to attach devoted followers. His face was often likened to that of a lion; and doubtless he possessed in an eminent degree the dignity and fabled magnanimity of that noble animal. His power of securing the love of his soldiers lay in his cool and transcendent bravery and singular kindness of intercourse. If he had to reprove, it was always with moderation; and he ever corrected offenders with a patient forbearance. Yet he was a rigid disciplinarian, and suffered no negligence or omission of duty, or the slightest relaxation in the obedience of the men to their superior officers. Such consistency in conduct will always command the love of followers. Upon one occasion he received the following address from his comrades in arms:—"We pray with all our hearts that wherever you go you may be received with an affection and respect equal to your merits; but should you ever hereafter have need of followers, we offer you, in the name of many, to bring 10,000 men, wherever you may direct, to your service."

The Viscount was no inventor in the art of war—neither in the dress, arming, or tactics of soldiers, nor in the higher branches of strategy. He adopted the plan of Gustavus Adolphus of massing musketeers and

1675. pikemen, and thus has come to be considered as one amongst many of the inventors of the bayonet; but there is no reason whatever for giving Turenne the credit of that. In his four last years of war he doubtless exhibited a higher estimate of the plan of a campaign; but he only adopted, and can scarcely be said to have in the least improved upon, the strategy of the German and Swedish leaders of armies in the Thirty Years' War. Even as late in his career as the first years of the war in Holland, in 1672, he followed the vicious practice of besieging towns, instead of manœuvring in the field. But, as I have remarked, "a change came over the spirit of his dream" about this period, and a year or two in face of Montecuculi brought this practice to perfection. However, in the sort of military game of chess which closed his career, although he may be said to have "checked the king" upon the plain of Schertzen, yet he had not in any degree secured the game, although he seems to have thought he had; and there is good reason to believe that at that moment his adversary had deeper resources for the game than the Maréchal-Général possessed. Nevertheless Condé could never have maintained the game as did Turenne; and from this day a love for strategy has been engendered in the mind of the French officers, which may even be found in every grade of their service. In fine, we have in our hero a truly valuable character of a soldier, and there is no military man in any army of Europe who will hesitate to concede to him the title of The Great Turenne[1].

[1] Histoire du Vicomte Turenne; Les Mémoires du Vicomte, écrits de sa propre Main, Paris 1735; Histoire des dernières Campagnes de Turenne, par Chevalier de Beauvrain, 1772; Les Mémoires du Duc d'Yorck, depuis Jacques II.; Histoires de France de Voltaire, Sismondi, Trognon. Biographical Dictionaries, *passim*.

LOUIS II. DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONDE.

A FRENCH GENERAL.

Born 1621. Died 1686.

It has been the singular destiny of the house of Condé, to come in with the rising, and to expire with the setting, of the Royal house of Bourbon. With no claim to the Crown, this illustrious family furnished the history of the kingdom of France with some of its most stirring incidents, in religion and war, for almost a quarter of a century. When the House of Bourbon came to the throne the branch of Condé was the head and front of the French Protestant party; but was forced, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, to abjure his faith, like his first cousin, Henry IV. The family, nevertheless, had already played a great part in the religious wars of France. The first of the family bore arms on the side of the Calvinists at the battle of Cerisoles, in 1544; the second was killed in

Condé's ancestry.

1621. 1569, in the bloody battle of Jarnac, on the same side. His son, at the early age of seventeen fought for the Reformed cause at Coutras, in 1587; and was the last Protestant Prince of the House. He died at St. Jean d'Angely by poison in 1588, and his son, born posthumous, was the first of the family bred in the Catholic Faith.

His birth and parentage.

Francis Count d'Enghien, the common ancestor of the Bourbons, married Mary of Luxemburg, who was heiress of St. Pol, Soissons, Enghien, and Condé, in Hainault; so that it has been said that the family became rather Flemish than French. The posthumous child above spoken of was the father of our hero, and married, in 1609, Charlotte Margaret de Montmorency, the handsomest woman of Europe. This young lady was but sixteen, and not disinclined to coquetry. Her husband was altogether unworthy of the beauty, and was an arrant miser. To obtain grants of estates and money was his principal pursuit; and by one means or another he acquired the château and dependencies of Châteauroux, and the fine domains of Chantilly, Ecouen, and St. Maur. As there could not have been much compatibility between so ill-assorted a couple, it is not to be wondered at that "the beauty" gave herself up to a little flirting while the sordid mind of her mate was thus preoccupied; and it was quite in the character of their kinsman, Henry IV., although he had by this time attained the steady age of three-score, to pay court to her charms The young lady lent a favourable ear to the attentions of the "vieux galant," and it was thought that her young ambition was even flattered by the idea that she could get divorced from her husband, and attain by some means to share her lover's throne. But the husband awoke with an intermittent jealousy, and carried her away from danger;—first to one of his country-houses, and then to another; until, finding that the "diable à quatre" did not relax in his attentions,

but followed him wherever he went, he resolved to elope, as it were, with his own wife on horseback; and placing her on a pillion, and accompanied by two servants, in this way they quitted the kingdom. The young lady was highly incensed at this step, and lived separate from her husband for many years, vainly seeking for a divorce. But at length they came together again, and our hero was born at Paris, the fourth of their sons, in 1621. 1621.

The previous children having died in their infancy, and our young warrior being of a frail and delicate constitution, he was brought up with the greatest care and anxiety, in order that this last hope of their race might be preserved to the House. His education was carried on at Bourges, where he inhabited the well-known Hôtel of Jacques Cœur. At this time he bore the name of the Count d'Enghien. He soon showed a considerable pre-eminence above his schoolmates, as well in his athletic exercises as in his studies. His father personally watched and directed the bringing up of his son, and with considerable firmness corrected his faults himself. It is recorded that one day he even witnessed his son's receiving "a cruel whipping for having put out the eyes of a sparrow." In 1638 the young Prince first appeared at Court, at the grand public celebration of the birth of Louis XIV. The Duc d'Enghien was now seventeen years of age; and the following year obtained leave to make his first campaign in Flanders, under the Maréchal de la Meilleraie. This leader was considered to be the best General of his time for sieges; and accordingly it was at the siege and taking of Arras, in 1640, which lasted for two months, that the young Prince was initiated into the earliest duties of an officer. His second campaign was with the army under the personal command of Louis XIII., in 1641. Here Monsieur le Duc, as the young Prince was now styled, assisted at the siege and capture of Collioure, 13th April, which was fol- 1638.

His education: first appearance at Court, 1638: siege of Arras, 1640: capture of Perpignan, 5th Sept., 1641.

1641. lowed in a few months by the blockade and capitulation of Perpignan, on the 5th September.

Condé patronized by Richelieu, whose niece he marries, Feb., 1642.

On his return home he went, by the command of his father, to wait upon Richelieu at his country-house at Ruel. The Cardinal had attended the King to the army, but, having been taken seriously ill, had returned; the Court intrigues of the period had been at once roused by the possible consequences of this separation, and the army shared in the sentiment, and were divided into the parties "Royaliste" and "Cardinaliste." The young D'Enghien, as well as his comrade the Vicomte de Turenne, had enrolled himself with the latter. The Minister accordingly received our young warrior with great favour, and is reported to have said, after receiving him,—"I have conversed with Monsieur le Duc on religion, war, politics, &c.; and he will certainly be the first man of his time." The thirst for gold still tormented the ambition of his father; and the Prince de Condé thought to turn so favourable a prestige to account, by proposing to marry his son to the niece of the great Cardinal. This young lady was Claire Clémence de Maille-Brézé, a daughter of Maréchal de Brézé, now a widower, who had married His Eminence's sister. This might have been deemed a *mésalliance* for the family of a Prince of the Blood; but Mademoiselle d'Orléans relates in her Memoirs that "Monsieur le Prince pleaded for this concession from the Cardinal as eagerly as though he had in view for his son the sovereignty of the world." The young lady was not wanting in personal attractions, but was quite a child for her years, so that she was said to have amused herself with dolls for two years after her marriage. This infantine mind may have occasioned the undeserved contempt for his wife that early inspired the Prince. There is no doubt that Monsieur le Duc felt strong repugnance to the marriage; but, with his habitual deference to his father, he was duly betrothed to the lady in the King's closet, on

the 7th February, 1642; a few days afterwards he fell so dangerously ill that his life was despaired of. 1642.

Death of Richelieu and of Louis XIII.: Condé's victory at Rocroy, May 19th, 1643.

After the death of Richelieu, Monsieur le Duc was designated for the command of the army which was to defend Champagne and Picardy. It is related that at this period, when Louis XIII. was on his death-bed, he called to his side the Prince de Condé, and said to him, "Je rêvais que votre fils, le Duc d'Enghien, en était venu aux mains avec les ennemis, et qu'après un rude combat, la victoire est demeurée aux nôtres, qui sont restés maîtres du champ de bataille." The King died on the 14th May, 1643, five days later. On the 19th our hero fought and conquered at Rocroy. If the story is true, this was a death prophecy of a second sight of most speedy accomplishment.

Condé is urged to march to Paris, and to secure the Regency.

D'Enghien now commanded about 12,000 men, and he had opposite to him 27,000 Spaniards, under the command of Don Francisco de Melo. The knowledge of the King's approaching end appears to have prompted the Castilian to undertake the offensive, and with this view he advanced to menace Landrecies. But as soon as it was found that the French directed their march in the same direction, De Melo turned his steps towards the Meuse, and sat down before Rocroy, which, being very weakly fortified, it was expected might fall to his arms unless promptly relieved. The Prince had been associated with the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, whose experience might, it was hoped, check the headlong courage of the young chief, and who suggested at this time that it was better to lose a single town than to expose his army to so unequal a conflict. At this time, however, the knowledge of the death of Louis XIII. had raised another class of perfidious and dangerous counsellors, who advised the Prince to abandon the defence of the frontier, and to march with his army on the capital, to insure for himself the Regency. The Prince at once repelled the suggestion, and he resolved to inaugurate the coming

1643. reign by a victory. He received at Origny a reinforcement of 10,000 men, and the report of the Governor that he could not longer hold out; on the 19th May he therefore sent forward General Gassion, with a body of cavalry, to advance boldly on Rocroy, to carry aid to the town, while he prepared his army to follow.

Situation of Rocroy: preparations for the siege.

The situation of Rocroy is low, in the midst of marshes and woods, and only to be approached by long and difficult defiles. The young Duke divided his force into two columns,—the one under De l'Hôpital, and the other under Gassion,—and prepared boldly to force a passage. But to his utter surprise, he met with no opposition. Don Francisco de Melo, despising the attack of so young and inexperienced a leader, had formed up his renowned *Tercios* in the plain *beyond*, and thought to catch the French in the traps that the narrow approaches exposed them to. But, with the usual result of smartness in war, D'Enghien overcame all obstacles, and deployed into the plain, which is surrounded on all sides by the forest of Ardennes. The ground was uneven and difficult; but the French gained a height only separated from the position occupied by the Spaniards by a narrow valley. In reply to all suggestions of prudence, he answered, "Paris shall never see me again, but as a conqueror or a corpse."

The battle: bravery of the Conde de Fuentes: the *Tercios*.

The dawn of the 20th May, 1643, discovered the enemy in order of battle. The Count of Isemberg, with the German cavalry, stood on the right; the Duke d'Albuquerque, with the Flemish cavalry, on the left; and the Walloon guards, in their too solid formation, in the centre, under the Conde de Fuentes, an old officer of extraordinary merit, who, owing to the gout, was obliged to be carried in a litter. The two columns of the French had formed their line under the respective commanders already named. Melo, who had well studied the ground, placed 1000 picked musketeers

in the wood to the right of the French, with orders to sally forth and fall upon the rear of the march the moment it made any advance into the valley. He had also ordered up 6000 Germans, under General Beck, to quit the blockading force, and march into line. D'Enghien, detecting the ambuscade, darted forward like lightning at the head of some cavalry, fell upon and utterly routed the musketeers; while Gassion advanced boldly to attack Albuquerque on the Spanish left, which he effectually routed. De l'Hôpital, with the left wing, went forward at the same time; but was not so fortunate; for Melo vigorously led the defence himself, and threw the French into confusion. They fled; and the Maréchal, dangerously wounded, was carried along with his men in the flight far out of the fray. La Ferté Sennecterre, who was in the same wing with De l'Hôpital, was also wounded, and taken prisoner with the guns. D'Enghien had, however, prudently provided a reserve, which he had placed under a brave Gascon, the Baron de Sirot, one of the adversaries of Gustavus Adolphus[1]. This force was now called upon to face the whole right wing of the Spaniards, led by the chief of the army himself, and D'Enghien was counselled to give way under such unequal odds; but he replied, "No, no—the battle is not yet lost, for Sirot and his companions have not yet fought." Accordingly he stood firm, while he contemplated a daring but somewhat rash manœuvre. Acting with Gassion and a considerable body of cavalry, he had reached the body of the Spanish infantry, and now fearlessly swept along its rear until, arriving at the other wing, he was enabled to set free La Ferté and all the prisoners and all the artillery 1643.

[1] The readers of Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus will remember the anecdote of Sirot possessing himself of the King's hat as a trophy. In the Memoirs of the Abbé Arnauld it is stated he had, at different times, also secured the scarf of the King of Poland, and a pistol belonging to the King of Denmark!

1643. that had been captured; and actually arrived to the assistance of Sirot in the midst of his conflict with Melo, where he had already possessed himself of some of the Spanish guns. But the Walloon guards still stood before him unshaken and immoveable. D'Enghien observed, not without some uneasiness, their haughty and undaunted bearing. Their formation was that of the famous *Tercios*, which had been regarded as invincible since the great days of Pavia and St. Quentin. The guns that had been released and the guns that had been captured were now at D'Enghien's command, and he at once opened them upon the dense mass; while the cavalry, which had lately wound round it, now darted into the mass under the guidance of the young chief. Then it was that the old warrior, the Conde de Fuentes, proved how much the power of mind can triumph over the infirmities of body. He allowed the French cavalry to advance within a few yards, when he opened out his infantry and unmasked a battery that dealt death and destruction from its fire, while formidable volleys from the musketeers on either flank accompanied this roar of cannon. D'Enghien was repulsed in the greatest disorder; and had Fuentes been provided with any cavalry to second his brave and exemplary tactics, he would have snatched the victory from his young assailant.

Fuentes slain: reflections of French writers on the discipline of the Spanish infantry of the time.

The young Prince, therefore, required all the leisure that followed the Spanish fire, to rally his men and to call up other cavalry to his assistance; when, undismayed, he led them in person to the charge a second time against "cette redoutable infanterie de l'armée d'Espagne, dont les gros bataillons serrés, semblables à autant de tours, mais à des tours qui sauraient réparer leurs brèches, demeuraient inébranlables au milieu de tout le reste en déroute, et lançaient des feux de toutes parts." Serried by artillery fire, and dismayed by the dashing charge of the horse, the great phalanx gave way. French historians, content with the victorious result,

do none of them stop at more information than is afforded by a few eloquent sentences: but in real truth the ancient Phalanx would have been equally overpowered, like the Spanish *Tercios*, by artillery fire; and though all the *élan* and perseverance of bravery of the French at Rocroy were required to reap the fruits of the conflict, it was the guns that did the work, when for the third time the Prince dashed into the mass, and found it decimated by the number of soldiers that had fallen, among whom their brave commander, Fuentes, lay dead in his litter, expiring of several wounds. The Spanish officers threw away their arms and asked for quarter, but, in the confusion, suspecting some treachery, resumed them, and ordered their men to fire; who opened so tremendous a discharge at quarter distance, that it was a perfect miracle that D'Enghien escaped alive. At the same moment Gassion joined the young Duke, and announced to him that the rout of the enemy was general; and that even General Beck's corps, who had not entered into the battle, had fled, leaving some of their guns behind them. The young hero, assured of the result of this his first and most splendid battle, then threw himself on his knees at the head of his army, and, in a spontaneous burst of youthful piety and gratitude, returned public thanks to the great Giver of Victory. 1643.

The victory at Rocroy: capture of De Melo, the Spanish commander.

This signal success gained for him at a bound the first military reputation in Europe. France was in ecstasy at a victory gained by a Prince of the Royal Blood; and the incident came opportunely to inaugurate the reign of Louis XIV. The battle had been fought on the very day that committed the body of his father to the Royal vault at St. Denis. The broken litter on which the old Conde de Fuentes had expired was for a long time preserved at Chantilly as a noble trophy of the family of Condé. Twenty-four cannon and 300 standards were the fruits of the victory: and of the famous Spanish infantry that had been over-

1643. — thrown here were 9000 left dead on the field, and 7000 taken prisoners; amongst whom Don Francisco de Melo, the Commander-in-Chief, had been included; but he found means during the fray to throw away his General's staff, and to escape. The bâton became a glorious trophy of the day (like that of Jourdain at Vittoria). M. le Duc himself, it should be noticed, had received three ball-strokes in the course of the engagement, none of which was of importance; but his horse was wounded by two balls. In war success is "the one thing needful," and how attained is comparatively unimportant; nevertheless the vanity of the nation exalted the young conqueror a little too highly. He had "ni égalé César, ni passé Spinola." The great effect of the victory of Rocroy in military history is, that it absolutely extinguished the renown of Spanish tactics.

Condé takes Thionville, 22nd Aug., 1643: visits Paris, 15th Sept.

The young Prince rested a day or two at Rocroy, during which he heard that Melo had taken shelter with the miserable remains of his army at Philippeville, and that no army any longer protected Flanders. He therefore resolved to follow up his success with vigour, and sat down before Thionville, reputed to be one of the best fortresses in Europe. The Spanish General however succeeded in throwing a reinforcement of 2000 men into the place. D'Enghien broke ground before it, and on the 18th June completely invested it. The besieged made a stubborn resistance, and repulsed the besiegers several times with successful sallies. Nevertheless towards the end of July the Moselle overflowed its banks, and carried away the bridges; so that the French, were perfectly isolated on either side of the river. If the German cavalry of Beck, which were encamped under Luxemburg, had been on the alert, they might now have seriously impeded the progress of the attack: but while they were inactive, Monsieur le Duc, with his characteristic energy and activity, had repaired the misfortune; and the siege went on. Nevertheless

the progress made was slow, and it was resolved to have recourse to the art of the miner, as a substitute for their weak siege train. By this means the besiegers eventually made their way into the town, and the Governor asked leave to capitulate on the 22nd August. From thence the French proceeded to besiege Cirq, or Sierch, a strong work recently erected by the Elector of Treves, which also surrendered; and, impatient to receive the ovation that awaited him at Paris, the Prince then quitted the army for the capital on the 15th September. 1643.

The reception of Monsieur le Duc was very reasonably enthusiastic, and, as it happened, he found all his family rejoicing around his wife, who had a short time previous given birth to a son, whom he now embraced with tenderness. The young hero of twenty-two found a warmer reception from other ladies than from his sick wife; and most unworthily, like many other vain men, gave himself up to the most indiscriminate debaucheries with an ardour equal to that he had shown in quest of glory. The Queen Regent, however, after the space of a fortnight, ordered him back to his command; and he was obliged to depart again to conduct reinforcements to the army of Maréchal de Guébriant, whose troops had been somewhat neglected during the late campaign against the Spaniards; and who had accordingly written to urge reinforcements with the greater urgency, because a large portion of the army which he had taken over from the late Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar consisted of adventurers, who had now revolted, and abandoned his colours for those of one of the Swedish Generals. D'Enghien carried forward a reinforcement of 6000 men, on the 1st November; and Guébriant forthwith sat down before Rothweil, where he met his death on the 17th of the same month, when his command devolved on the Maréchal de Rantzau.

His reception in the capital: he is ordered to carry reinforcements to Guébriant, who is slain at Rothweil, 17th Nov.

It does not clearly appear whether D'Enghien was Condé en-

1644. — counters the Bavarians, under Mercy: desperate struggle, 3rd Aug., 1644.

present with this army when it underwent a serious disaster by the surprise of Tuttlingen, on the 24th of the same month, in which De Rantzau fell into the hands of the Imperialists, together with all his general officers, artillery, and baggage. It is indeed believed that the Prince had quitted the army for a small independent command on the frontiers of Luxemburg. For here, in the spring of 1644, he is found at Anblemont, near Mouzon, thinking of the siege of Treves, when the report of the reverses of the French army recalled him to the forces in Germany. The Viscount de Turenne, who had succeeded De Rantzau, laid siege, in despite of the Imperialist General Von Mercy, to Freiburg, in the Brisgau, about five leagues from Breysac, where the Maréchal had established his bridge over the Rhine. As it was a place of importance, he had solicited the French Government for reinforcements, and D'Enghien was ordered to join him with 10,000 men; when, in virtue of his rank as Prince of the Blood, he at once assumed the post of Generalissimo. On his arrival at the army, however, he had the mortification to learn that Freiburg had opened her gates to the enemy. The two Generals immediately went forth to reconnoitre the position assumed by the enemy—a camp thick set with redoubts and chevaux-de-frise, in a country covered with woods and rocks. This was recognized by Turenne as too formidable for a front attack; and he recommended a manœuvre on the enemy's flanks, with a view to cut off his supplies. The young hero of Rocroy was impatient of any other course than immediate action and dash, and, upon the representations of D'Estach, who, as Governor of Breysac, knew something of the country, resolved, in opposition to his cooler colleague, to attack at dawn of day on the 3rd August. The Viscount was ordered to march by a long circuit; and it was calculated that this détour might be accomplished by five o'clock in the

evening, at which hour Monsieur le Duc ordered his division to fall upon the Bavarian camp. But no Monsieur de Turenne arrived, for he had found the obstacles of his route greater than he expected, and had been encountered on the way by some of Von Mercy's best troops. The young Prince, notwithstanding the devoted bravery of his soldiers, failed to force the intrenchments single-handed; it was therefore necessary to prepare for a second battle. Von Mercy, however, had recognized the weakness of his position, and the same night lifted his camp in order to occupy a post on another near Freiburg. Here he set to work to intrench himself; and as the French, on finding the Bavarians gone from their post, rested in their camp the whole of the 4th, the enemy had time to strengthen themselves. All French writers record, with a sort of praise, a somewhat ridiculous piece of theatrical bravado in the young hero, who threw his bâton of command over the enemy's parapet, and prepared at the head of the regiment of Conti to recover it; this, however, he did not do, for the intrenchment was never forced. 1644.

Condé routs the Bavarians near Freiburg.

A new attack was now combined between D'Enghien and Turenne for the morning of the 5th, and they went forward to reconnoitre the ground, leaving positive orders that no movement should be made in the absence of the two chiefs. But Maréchal-de-Camp d'Espenan, in spite of the order, caused one of the enemy's redoubts to be insulted; which brought on an irregular fight, that continued the whole day with great animosity. But as no combination, or *ensemble*, could be effected, the Prince at the close of the day called back all his troops, and prepared with characteristic perseverance to plan a third attack, although the second day's fight alone had cost him 2000 of his men. Such young commanders, however, think little of human life when weighed against

1644. the pleasurable excitement of energetic action; and he now remarked, "That one night at Paris would compensate all this loss of men[2]." M. le Duc now adopted the flank movement originally recommended by Turenne, which would have saved all the blood that had been shed in the two first vain attempts to succeed; and its wisdom was rendered more apparent when Von Mercy, already considerably weakened by these murderous conflicts, was disposed to rest contented with the possession of Freiburg, and only awaited the favourable moment to withdraw altogether from the French front. So that on the 9th he slipped away entirely unnoticed into the Black Forest, by the road of St. Peter's Valley. As soon as D'Enghien was made aware of his enemy's retreat, he sent forward 800 men, under the Count de Rosen, to harass the Bavarians in their march; but Von Mercy fell unawares with so much violence on Rosen, that, but for a reinforcement speedily sent up to his assistance, he would have been overcome. Von Mercy, however, was so hotly followed by his youthful adversary, that he was forced to make a rapid retreat on Billingen with the sacrifice of some portion of his artillery and baggage, which trophies entitle M. le Duc to the honour of the victory of "the three days of Freiburg."

Successes of the French in the valley of the Rhine: Condé repairs again to Paris.

To besiege and retake the fortress might appear the obvious fruit of success; but Turenne counselled the plan of throwing all their force against the fortified towns lying on the other side of the Valley of the Rhine, which were left with insufficient garrisons by the withdrawal of the Imperialists; and in the course of the next two months the whole Valley of the Rhine, from Basle to Coblentz, submitted to the French arms. Impatient to gather the laurels he had acquired, the young Prince left to his colleague the formal task of settling the terms of the capitulation of Landau; and,

[2] Puffendorf.

hastening back to Paris, he abandoned himself again with ardour to the pursuit of fresh amours. It would be perhaps a prudish morality, to condemn a young man scarcely twenty-four years old, a Prince of the Blood Royal, and covered with laurels, because he was unable to pass unscathed from the ready fascination of the female sex for all that is heroic in man. But it must not be forgotten, to his just condemnation, that he forsook for their sakes his lawful wife, who had ever since her youthful marriage conducted herself in a most irreproachable manner, condoning even his infidelities out of the attachment and admiration which she bore for his glory. Young unmarried ladies forgot their maiden virtue to fall in love with him. Mademoiselle de Boutteville, of the house of Montmorency, and Mademoiselle de Vigeau, entertained for the young Prince strong affection; and the latter is said to have swooned away with grief at parting from him for the new campaign, and retired into a convent when, on his return, he met her with a cold reception. 1645.

As soon as the spring of 1645 opened, Turenne was again in the saddle. The Emperor Ferdinand III., besieged in his capital by the Swedish Generalissimo Torstenson, had withdrawn from the Rhenish provinces all such troops as could be spared for the reinforcement of the army hastily assembled by the Archduke Leopold; and information had been received of their actual departure from Spire on the 30th March. Accordingly the French Maréchal advanced against Von Mercy, who retired before him. Having traversed at this early season a considerable extent of country in pursuit of the Bavarian General, who consistently avoided a general action, he was disposed to give his troops rest in the Mariendahl, where a rich supply of forage and food, in a not very extended circle, offered commodious quarters. Here, on the 5th May,

Mercy routs Turenne (5th May), to whom Condé carries reinforcements, 1st July.

1645. — the great Turenne, generally so prudent and so cautious, allowed himself to be surprised by Von Mercy. His best troops were routed, and fled; and he lost all his cannon and baggage, with 1200 of his horse. So great a disaster, occurring to so justly-famed a General, filled the Minister with so much alarm that D'Enghien was hastened away for the second time to convey him aid, and to assume the command; and on the 1st July he joined Turenne with 8000 men, combining about 20,000 soldiers under their orders. The Prince, anxious for a battle, sought every opportunity to force it upon his old antagonist, Von Mercy, who here again commanded the Bavarian army. At length he came up with the Imperialists at Nordlingen, in the Valley of the Danube, beyond Ulm, where Von Mercy had selected an extremely advantageous camp, and he resolved to seek to recover the French honour by a pitched battle.

Battle of Nordlingen, or Allersheim—total defeat of the Bavarians: death of Mercy, 3rd August.

The sanguinary action that here ensued on the 3rd August, which is commonly designated by French writers the Battle of Nordlingen, is more correctly known in German history as the Battle of Allersheim. The field, however, was the same with that which was yet scarcely cold from the defeat of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, eleven years previously. The position now assumed by Von Mercy was behind the Wermitz, between the Wineberg on the right and the castle and village of Allersheim. The church and walled churchyard lay in the centre, strengthened with every kind of obstacle, and flanked on either side by hills bristling with artillery. Turenne declared this position unassailable; but D'Enghien had 17,000 to oppose to 14,000, and he resolved to fight. Von Mercy was prepared to receive him The two leaders contended face to face in the centre of the position; but for many hours the French Prince could not prevail against the centre; and an enormous sacrifice

of life on both sides showed the exertions that had been made in the attack and defence. Monsieur le Duc had two horses killed under him, three others that he rode were wounded; and he himself received a pistol-shot in the elbow, more than twenty cuts on his armour and equipments, and a severe contusion from a ball on his thigh. But his antagonist, Von Mercy, was struck dead on the field by a musket-ball. All the aides-de-camp of D'Enghien had been slain or wounded, and Maréchal de Grammont, who commanded his right wing, was taken prisoner. The victory was at this period of the day the prize of either antagonist. But Turenne stood firm on the left, and held the French army well in hand against all the endeavours of John de Werth, who now assumed the command of the Imperial army, and who was most opportunely joined at this critical moment by a reinforcement under General Glen. For the fifth time the French had now got possession of Allersheim; but they were once more driven out of it, and the day had almost turned in favour of the Imperialists. D'Enghien, however, found a corps of Hessian cavalry of the reserve, as yet unengaged, and, placing himself at their head, struck the decisive blow which changed defeat into victory. Turenne had got possession of the Wineberg, on which was placed a battery of the enemy's guns, which he turned upon the village; and had defeated and captured General Glen. This gave him possession of the village; so that De Werth now saw that all was lost. Collecting together therefore what troops he could, he marched them off the field to Donauwerth. The conquerors, however, purchased the day at such a cost that Cardinal Mazarin, when he announced the victory to the Queen Regent, said, "Madame, tant de gens sort morts qu'il ne faut quasi pas que Votre Majesté ne réjouisse de cette victoire." 1645.

M. le Duc immediately undertook the siege of Heilbrunn; but the fatigues of the late battle, and Serious illness of Condé:

1645. — visits the Court after his recovery.

the heat of the summer, brought on him a brain fever; of which his life was for a time despaired. He was accordingly sent off, under a large escort of cavalry, to Philipsburg, where he found skilful physicians, who had been sent thither to him by the care of the Queen and his father, the Prince de Condé; and, thanks to their skill, or perhaps yet more to his youthful vigour, the young hero recovered by degrees, and was in a short time enabled to remove to Paris, where public rejoicings signalized his safety and glory.

1646. Condé lays siege to Dunkirk, which capitulates, 11th Oct.

In 1646 the Cardinal thought to send an army under Monsieur le Duc into Italy; but for some reason or other the project failed. And as Turenne, with the army of the Rhine, was associated with the Swedish Field-Marshal Wrangel, and was quite strong enough to give occupation to the Archduke Leopold, it was proposed to D'Enghien to serve under his cousin Gaston, Duc d'Orléans, in the army of the Netherlands. This consisted of 33,000 men, having in command of their several columns four Maréchaux; and as it was also associated with a Dutch army under the Prince of Orange, it was deemed likely to stimulate the ardour of so fine a force, that the young King should remove to Amiens, from whence he might, as it were, make his first campaign. D'Enghien proposed several times to pass the Scheldt; but the project was too bold for the timid Gaston. They were therefore obliged to limit themselves to the siege of Courtray, on the 29th June; and of Mardyk, on the 25th August. After the latter success the Duc d'Orléans returned to the Court, leaving the command of the army to the Duc d'Enghien. The young Prince did not lose a moment in carrying out the project he had long desired—the siege of Dunkirk. He accordingly advanced, and carried Furnes on the 7th September; and, while Admiral Tromp blockaded the port from the sea, the Prince opened the trenches from the land on the 25th. After an obstinate defence and a thou-

sand difficulties overcome, the place was obliged to capitulate on the 11th October. These successes gained additional renown for the youthful leader; so that Voltaire wrote to his Royal Highness, "I think that if you were to undertake it, you would catch the moon with your teeth." 1646.

After the capture of Dunkirk, which however did not at this time remain to France, although it now forms part of the French Empire, Monsieur le Duc returned again to Paris, covered with laurels, and sated with the reception that he received there from both male and female. But he became so inflated with such glory and distinction that when, a few months later, his brother-in-law, the Duc de Brézé, was killed at Orbitello, leaving vacant the post of Admiral of France, he immediately asked for the inheritance for himself. To evade a refusal, Cardinal Mazarin persuaded Anne of Austria to retain the office in her own person, with the title of "Superintendent of the Seas." A young Prince, who chose to vaunt his resentment, was likely enough to collect around him a numerous party, and as these were principally the most elegant of the youth of the age, they obtained the name of *les petits maîtres*. But during these transactions the Prince de Condé fell ill, and died after three days, on the 25th December, 1646. The Duc d'Enghien accordingly succeeded to the title, and was henceforth called in France *Monsieur le Prince*. As an equivalent for his disappointment in the matter of the Admiralty, Mazarin gave him all the appointments and governments that had been held by his father, which were sufficiently numerous.

Condé succeeds his father both in his titles and governments, 25th December.

It seemed for a moment as if, with the name of Condé, he had acquired a steadier character; for he began to indulge in bravadoes against gallantry, and said that he renounced all other passions than that of glory. Accordingly he accepted, somewhat unwillingly, but under Mazarin's persuasion, the command of the army in Catalonia. The Catalans, who were at that 1647.

Condé is sent by Mazarin to command the army in Catalonia: lays siege to Lerida; but is,

1647. time in arms against the King of Spain, received him on his arrival at Barcelona with acclamations, delighted at receiving a Prince of the Blood Royal in France with the highest military reputation of the day, who was come to place himself at their head. But Condé, who was at that time in mourning for his father, affected the deepest grief, and appeared without decorations of any kind, and with his locks long and neglected. But this external characteristic was so opposed to the grandiose pomposity of a Spanish commander, that the Catalans complained that a student had been sent them instead of a General. But if they were disappointed in him, he was utterly disgusted with them. He found the army totally destitute of provisions, ammunition, or equipments. He vented his resentment against the authorities in bitter complaints that he was unable by this cruel deception to maintain the lustre of the French arms. He endeavoured by his personal activity to repair the requirements, which should have been done by the army commissioners; and, in order to gain some éclat to the campaign, he concerted with the Government at home to undertake the siege of Tarragona, for which the cooperation of a vast force was essential. But when he invested the place, towards the end of April, he found so miserable a blockading squadron provided, that he turned away to lay siege to Lerida, and appeared before that town on the 12th May. The indolence of the Spaniards had suffered the old lines of approach to remain undisturbed, and Monsieur le Prince would have been content to have occupied them without further preface. But it appears to have been the old Spanish custom to open a siege with a fanfarronade of some kind; and accordingly he opened fresh trenches to the sound of violins —for which he was much ridiculed; for it has been said that the violins were as much *de trop* in military history, as they were *de trop* to military practice. Lerida has a strong castle on a granite height, which absolutely

forced to raise it, 17th June.

resisted the blast of gunpowder; and frequent sallies and furious conflicts retarded every approach, Condé repelling the one and mingling with the other; but, nevertheless, the siege did not advance. Although Lerida is but thirty leagues from Barcelona, provisions and ammunition arrived slowly and with some difficulty on the backs of mules. The heat was becoming intense, and the Catalans began to desert in great numbers. At length the report came in, that a Spanish army, under the Marquis d'Ayetona, had assembled at Fraga, to raise the siege; and it became necessary on the contest to choose the alternative of fighting a battle, or raising the siege. Condé resolved, under all the circumstances, with great coolness and judgment, to adopt the latter; and on the 17th June the French army defiled by a bridge of boats across the Segre. But the Spaniards persisted in remaining under the guns of the fortress, and did not follow the besiegers, because it was said to have been the especial injunction of the Spanish King to his General—"to take care, above all things, never to engage in battle with that presumptuous youth." 1647.

The Prince, very much incensed at the want of resources entrusted to him to effect any thing of consequence in Spain, returned to the Court; and Mazarin appeased him by offering him the choice of any other military command. Condé chose that of the army in Flanders. The Archduke Leopold had been very inefficiently opposed by Maréchaux de Gassion and de Rantzau, who were in open dissension; and Maréchal de Turenne, on the side of Luxemburg, had been inconvenienced by the seditions of his troops: so that Condé found himself opposed to the Imperialists in inferior force. Nevertheless he succeeded in reducing Ypres; although his opponent balanced this by the surprise of Courtray, which had been denuded of troops without notice of it having been given to Condé, who accordingly now repaired to Paris to consult with the Queen Regent

Condé returns to Paris: resumes the command, and reduces Ypres: encounters the Imperialists at Lens, 20th August.

1647. as to the state of destitution that existed in all the French armies. The Prince was necessitated to borrow money on his own estate; and when warned that he might involve his estate, he said, "Since I venture my life for the service of my country, I may well risk my fortune for it. So long as any State exists, I shall never want for any thing." On his return to the army on the 20th August, he found the Archduke intrenched before the town of Lens, with 18,000 men and thirty-eight guns. The Prince had about the same number of men, but less artillery. The armies stood opposed to each other in a smiling valley occupied by pleasing village and farmsteads, but much intercepted with strong quick-set hedges; and the Imperialists could only approach through a perfect defile of corn-stacks. The Archduke, seeing the young conqueror of the day before him, determined to remain still within his strong position. General Beck, who commanded under Leopold, and who had already made trial of Condé's ardour and impetuosity, flattered himself that he would again despise all the advantages of ground, and attack at all risks. But the young general had gained a few years' experience in war, and had new resources for victory. He saw that with only an equal force it would be almost impossible to assail his adversary in such a post; and he therefore resolved to manœuvre him out of it.

Total defeat of the Archduke Leopold.

At dawn on the 20th August, the French army was perceived to be in full retreat, and the rearguard apparently in much disorder. This had been placed under the command of the Marquis de Noirmoutier. General Beck, thinking to profit by this state of things, was soon perceived sallying forth into the plain; and at the head of his Lorraine cavalry he fell upon the French. In a short time it was seen that he was supported by the mass of the Spanish army under the Archduke in person. He imagined that he had only to deal with an enemy in some disorder from a surprise upon their hasty march: but the young Prince was

upon the alert, and supported the Marquis with the gens-d'armes under the Duc de Chatillon. The battle soon waxed warm. The assailants were, he thought, obtaining the advantage; and accordingly he himself hurried into the fray with eight fresh squadrons. He marched direct upon the left wing, which was under the command of the Duc de Lorraine, and despatched De Grammont to assail the enemy's right wing at the same time. In this way he restored the battle; but his genius saw that the delusion of a retreat might still be turned to more account, and he therefore again commanded his whole army to retire in good order. But Beck was too old a soldier to be caught a second time in the same trap, and advised the Archduke to form up in order of battle; the centre under Fuensaldaña, the right under the Prince de Ligne and Count Bousquoi, and the Spanish left under the Prince de Salon; while a considerable reserve was placed under General Erlach. Seeing that the Imperialists did not advance, Condé halted, and formed up his line of battle likewise; and the two armies stood in order, not many paces distant from each other, in a species of echelon (as I understand the formation), but the tactics of the day had not, I believe, yet recognized that expedient. Condé addressed a few exciting words to his soldiers, and directed that they should withhold their fire: but the Spaniards opened upon the French a heavy cannonade, which told very severely on their ranks, and made them so mad (being forbidden to return it) that the soldiers could not be restrained from rushing upon their foe. Condé availed himself adroitly of their ardour, and the act was done with so much energy, that the enemy had no time to reload; and the entire first line went down before the vigour of the assault[3]. Condé, always ready for a dash, now placed himself at the head of the men, and conspicuous in the fight, as he was sure

1647.

[3] This really reads as if the French must already have been armed with something of the nature of the bayonet.

1647. to be, he was nearly taken prisoner; but, with his quick eagle eye, he saw that the Lorraine cavalry had penetrated his left flank (where they had carried off the Marquis of Villequier as a prisoner). Accordingly he quitted the right wing and flew to the opposite flank in person, where he was enabled to restore the battle, and to send Noirmoutier forward against the enemy. In the meantime the Weimar troops, hitherto held in reserve, were sent against the Archduke's reserve, and with such effect as to drive it clean out of the field. De Grammont now led forward the French left, and succeeded in forcing his way clean through the Spanish infantry, under Fuensaldaña, in the Imperial right wing; and they were driven back even to the town of Lens. The centres of both armies were at the same time in hot conflict under the Duke de Chatillon, and the Archduke in person. After a contest of six hours—during which the valiant General Beck, who was Leopold's right-hand man, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner,—the Imperialists were thoroughly disheartened, and gave way altogether; the Archduke and Fuensaldaña leading the way to Douay. All the artillery and baggage, with 120 colours and 6000 prisoners (among whom was the Prince de Ligne and General Beck), were the trophies to the victors. As many as 5000 Spaniards were left dead on the field. Condé advanced and took Furnes on the 10th September.

Condé is summoned to Paris: disturbances in the capital: war of the Fronde.

But he was summoned back to Paris by the Queen Regent, and left the army in the field to take a share in the party disturbances of the capital which soon led to the war of the Fronde. The Prince had been wounded at the capture of Furnes by a musket-shot; and in consequence, on receiving the King's order to return to Court, he repaired by stages to Calais, where he was visited by Bussy-Rabutin, to whom, on entering his chamber, the Prince began to sing merrily,—

"Oh! la folle entreprise
Du Prince de Condé,"

which was an old song, composed formerly upon the Prince his father; and it was from the lips of the caustic wit in this conversation that he first received the details of the important events that had without his knowledge occurred in the capital. 1647.

The Prince de Condé arrived at Paris on the 28th September. The King and the Regent were absent at Saint Germain, but the whole city was still in the greatest excitement; because the very occasion of his victory at Lens, for which there had been a solemn thanksgiving at Notre Dame, had been seized by Mazarin to arrest and incarcerate some of the most obnoxious leaders of the popular party. Instigated, as it was supposed, by the Coadjutor (Cardinal de Retz), the Prince immediately brought into play all the influence of his new laurel crown to take part against the Regent Queen and the Cardinal Minister, and he went down in person with the Duc d'Orléans and the heads of the party to Saint Germain, to obtain from Anne of Austria a Royal declaration, which it was thought might appease the dissension. Such was the first act of those troubles which were subsequently termed The War of the *Fronde*, or the *Sling*,—a singular term which is explained by a jest of Bachaumont, as being an allusion to the amusements of schoolboys, who were wont to fight one another in sport with slings and stones. Its pertinence as a designation may be discerned in the insignificance of a first outbreak which had no dignity in it. Unlike to what was at the same juncture occurring in England, where sound principles of public liberty were at the bottom at least of the national excesses, the Fronde was a mere struggle for power between a camarilla of the palace, which was founded ostensibly on a matter of taxation and the privileges of the courts of law, but which, after five years of suffering, ended in the attainment of not one jot of public liberty; on the contrary, the *Fronde* was succeeded by the absolute sovereignty of Louis XIV., who

1647. probably surpassed in power the autocracy of any other European monarch, before or since.

Condé, solicited by both parties, sides with the Court.

The Prince de Condé was himself deeply grieved at the rising despotism of the Court, and at the violence on the part of the Parliament; and he told the Coadjutor, "Mazarin is not aware what he is doing; and he would ruin the State if one did not take care. The Parliament goes too fast. If they had acted with caution, as we had concerted, we should settle with them our affairs and those of the public. They are rushing into the danger; and if I rushed in with them, I might gain more by it than they; but my name is Louis de Bourbon, and I will not shake the Crown. Those mad square-caps would engage me to make a civil war, which would strangle them, and put over all our heads that rascally Sicilian, who will ruin all of us in the end."

Anne of Austria urges Condé to take the command of the Royal army.

All eyes were turned towards the Prince as the only person to effect an accommodation; and the Queen Regent suggested that he should hasten up to the capital some 4000 Germans, who, under the orders of M. d'Erlach, had passed the Somme. But Condé replied he could not take Paris with such a force, and that the attempt would seriously compromise the negotiations at Munster, which were almost verging to a settlement of European war. But Anne of Austria, though humbled, was not subdued; and when the peace of Westphalia released the troops under Turenne, she hoped that by these means she might recover the power that had been extorted from her and Cardinal Mazarin, to whom she said, "Let us wait and see the effects that will be produced on the mind of Monsieur le Prince; and by degrees we shall be enabled to prevail upon him to accept the command of an army against the Parliament."

There was considerable shrewdness in the remarks of the Queen Regent. Cardinal de Retz relates some very curious details of conversations with the Prince, of

which he professes to have had many of the same tenour. Monsieur said two or three times angrily, "that he would make the Parliament see that, if they continued to act as they had done, they should soon be brought to their senses;" by which the Coadjutor construes Condé to mean, that he had a project for bringing up a military force against the capital. Goudy therefore replied, that His Highness might find Paris a morsel rather hard of digestion. His Highness characteristically replied, that there were other means of bringing a large capital into subjection than such mines and assaults as he had employed at Dunkirk. "Mais si le pain de Gonesse leur manquait huit jours!" It appears that when he proposed to reduce Paris by famine, the subject had been already mooted, and admitted as the most effective mode of reducing the capital to reason both by the Queen Regent and the Cardinal Minister. 1647.

On the 6th January, 1649, the Prince de Condé and the whole Court furtively and unexpectedly withdrew from Paris to St. Germain. The Parliament, indignant at the withdrawal of the King, issued a violent decree on the following day, charging Cardinal Mazarin, by name, as the author of the present evils,—declared him an enemy to the public peace,—and commanded him to quit the kingdom within eight days, or to be declared an outlaw. Thus civil war was openly denounced. The Prince de Conti, brother of the Prince de Condé, and a weak young man, jealous of the military fame of his elder brother, thought that he had only to adopt the same *métier* to become his equal, and presumptuously accepted the post of General for the Parliament. The heads of the illustrious houses of Longueville, De la Rochefoucault, D'Elbœuf, De Beaufort, and De Bouillon, together with the Cardinal de Retz, the Maréchal de Motteville, and several other great nobles, embraced the same party. The townsmen and others, who rallied round the same cause, were soon on foot and ready for a campaign; and they 1649.

Mazarin denounced by the Parliament: the Court retires to St. Germain: Voltaire's description of the army of Paris.

1649. adopted for a device upon their colours, "Quærimus Regem nostrum." Voltaire thus describes the army of Paris,—

"Les troupes Parisiennes sortaient en campagne ornés de plumes et de rubans; leurs évolutions étaient le sujet de plaisanterie des gens du métier. Ils fuyaient dès qu'ils rencontraient 200 hommes de l'armée royale. Tout se tournait en raillerie. On rendit un arrêt du parlément par lequel il fut ordonné de lever 12,000 hommes et que chaque porte-cochère fournit un homme et un cheval. Cette cavalerie fut appelée la cavalerie des portes-cochères. Le Coadjuteur avait un régiment qu'on nommait le régiment de Corinthe parceque S. E. était Archevêque titulaire de Corinthe. Ce régiment ayant été battu, on appelait cet échec la première des Corinthiens."

The Prince de Conti commands the army of the Parliament.

The anger in which Condé could indulge on many occasions burst forth on hearing that his brother and sister had sided with the Parisians against the Court; but his resentment soon turned to raillery. He obtained from the peasantry a little hunchback, and had him clothed in a smart coat, and, carrying him to the Queen, presented him, saying, "Here, Madame, is the Generalissimo of Paris." His brother, the Prince de Conti, was in fact a cripple. "Condé disait à Madame de Nemours que toute cette guerre ne méritait d'être écrite qu'en vers burlesque. Il l'appelait la guerre des pots de chambres."

Blockade of Paris: treatment of the troops by the citizens.

Condé was placed at the head of 12,000 men, to restrain this sharp rebellion; but he had neither money nor stores. The Prince, however, was accustomed to do great things with slender means, and he made up for all by his intense activity. He wrested from the Parisians several of their fortified posts,—especially those of Corbeil, St. Cloud, and St. Denis. The last stoutly resisted; and upwards of 100 officers, among whom was Chatillon, lost their lives in this affair. Nevertheless, Condé could not succeed in com-

pleting the blockade of Paris. Thus passed the months of January and February, 1649; in which interval the rebels of England had brought their King to the block. The augury was sinister enough; nevertheless they treated those things differently in France. "Les troupes qui sortaient de Paris et revenait toujours battues étaient reçues avec des huées et des éclats de rire. On ne réparait les petits échecs que par les couplets et des épigrammes. Les cabarets et les autres maisons de débauche étaient les tentes où l'on tenait des conseils de guerre, au milieu des plaisanteries, des chansons et de la gaieté la plus dissolue. La licence était si effrénée qu'un nuit les principaux officiers de la Fronde ayant rencontré le Saint Sacrement qu'on portait par les rues à un malade, reconduisaient les prêtres à coup de plat d'épée." 1649.

Treaty of Ruel, 11th March: reception of Condé by the citizens of Paris.

An accommodation, though it did not amount to a reconciliation, took place at Ruel, on the 11th March. A complete amnesty was granted to all the noblemen and gentlemen who had till that time taken up arms on the side of the Parliament. On the other hand, "The Prince de Condé made his open entry into Paris in broad daylight, drove through the principal streets in his coach, and attended only by two lackeys. The people, intimidated by his boldness or touched by his confidence, received him every where with respect."

Failure of the Flemish campaign: Condé rejects Mazarin's offer of the command.

The Prince had sided with Royalty in this beginning of troubles, because he thought it the place assigned to him by his birth. But he said publicly, the morning of the treaty of Ruel, that he had done all he could to uphold the Government; but for the future he should not be bound by the past. The Archduke Leopold was at this moment in Champagne: Turenne was in disgrace for the part he had taken on the side of the Parliament. Mazarin requested Condé to take the command of an army of 30,000 men, with a great service of artillery, which was formed near Cambray. He refused the command of the army of Flanders out of disgust towards the Cardinal. "Nulle tenue dans

1649. — sa conduite, nulle mesure dans son langage, nul ménagement pour les personnes, nul sérieux dans ses ruptures non plus que dans ses réconciliations: on dirait qu'il n'a d'autre idée dans la tête que celle de semer le trouble autour de lui et le mécontentement contre lui." The Comte d'Harcourt assumed the place that Condé ought to have occupied, but was baffled shamefully at the siege of Cambray; so that the whole campaign proved a failure.

1650. Condé testifies his enmity against Mazarin, who causes him to be arrested and sent to prison at Vincennes, 18th Jan.

When Louis XIV. entered Paris, on the 18th August, the Cardinal was in the same carriage with Monsieur le Prince; and at a grand fête given at the Hôtel de Ville, Mazarin was so well received that he began to repay the haughtiness of Condé with astonishing presumption. At this moment a request had been addressed to His Eminence for a government which the Prince desired for the Duc de Longueville. This was now absolutely refused, and Condé took this denial of a favour for a declaration of war, so far forgetting himself as to touch the Cardinal rather roughly with his hand under the chin, exclaiming with contempt, and with an insulting air, "Adieu, Mais —." This indiscreet violence of the Prince readily furnished weapons against himself, so that it was said, "he liked better to gain battles than hearts." He always appeared to take pleasure in disobliging; and would keep those who came on business, or to pay him respect, a prodigious time in his antechamber, often sending them away without seeing them. These things brought him ill will; but Condé persisted, chafing at the blame he brought on himself, and threatening even "to cane" some of those who would oppose his will. For some object of State or vengeance, Mazarin persuaded the Prince that a pistol-shot that had been fired on the Pont-Neuf was aimed at him; and Condé no longer doubted that the chiefs of the *Fronde* had formed a design against his life. Impelled by his fiery temper, he lodged a complaint against the leaders of the party before the Parliament; and the Cardinal neglected nothing that could sustain the Prince in

the false impression. By this device a common resentment against Condé drew together and cemented the two parties which only a few months previously had been warring furiously against each other; and the Queen Regent, accepting the assurance of the Cardinal de Retz that Paris would not stir even if Condé should be arrested, the Prince, and his brother the Prince de Conti, and his brother-in-law the Duc de Longueville, were all three seized on entering the Council at the Palais Royal on the 18th January, 1650, and carried away to Vincennes[4]. Voltaire records, as a consequence of this incident, "Le peuple de Paris fit des feux de joie lorsqu'on mena au donjon de Vincennes le défenseur et le héros de la France." The conqueror of the Spaniards was forgotten in the enemy of the Parliament and of public liberty; and not only did the populace give vent to their joy, but a crowd of nobles attached to the party of the Fronde hastened to the Palais Royal to overwhelm the Queen Regent and the Cardinal with their noisy congratulations. 1650.

Condé's behaviour in prison: measures taken in his behalf.

In this unexpected reverse of fortune the character of Condé's mind was signally manifested. He was confined with his brother the Prince de Conti, and his brother-in-law the Duc de Longueville; but he so far mastered his feelings as to exert himself to be cheerful, and he gave himself up to literature more than he had ever done previously. In spite of the rigorous watching to which they were all subjected, they contrived the means of carrying on a correspondence with some friends without. Under the pretext of illness, the Prince was allowed to see Dalencé his surgeon; and from him he learnt that a very serious civil war was already lighted up on his account. Condé's mother, the Princess Dowager, and his wife and sister, had

[4] Any one interested in details will find in the Life of Condé, by Lord Stanhope, a history of all that passed about the arrest at the Council; but they would be out of place in this Biography, which is solely the military life of Condé.

1650. raised the city of Bordeaux in his behalf; and had applied for the assistance of Spain. Lenet, a Conseiller d'Etat, and a man of zeal and energy, was indefatigable in organizing the revolt. The Duc de Bouillon and the Duc de la Rochefoucauld adopted the rebel cause. A civil war had indeed already broken out in every direction, and the scarf of Isabelle—a sort of yellow—had been adopted for the colour of the party of Condé, as opposed to the white scarf of his enemies.

Heroical conduct of the Princess de Condé: she retires to Montrond.

Clémence de Maillé now proved herself not only a woman of spirit, but a zealous, energetic wife, resolved upon the deliverance of her imprisoned husband. The King had commanded her to quit Chantilly; but she took advantage of this order to escape with her young son, the Duc d'Enghien, to the castle of Montrond, where they arrived safely on the 13th April. This château had been obtained by the old Prince de Condé as a grant from Louis XIII. It is seated on the summit of a rocky hill, just above the little town of St. Amand, amidst some of the gayest and most smiling views of France; the two rivers Cher and the Marmande effecting their junction at the foot of the hill. Only one road, winding and cut in the rock, led to it: and within there was an inexhaustible well; so that Lenet recommended that they should try to introduce into the château all that was required in the way of artillery, ammunition, and money to fit it for a defence. As soon as the news of the arrival of the Princess at Montrond was spread in the country around, the neighbouring gentry came there to pay her their respects. She received them all marvellously well, and took great pains to try and enlist every one she could in her service. Acting with great grace, and speaking with fluency, she shone to great advantage on these occasions, and evinced much presence of mind and prompt decision.

The Princess Dowager urges

The Princess Dowager de Condé made her escape from Chantilly on the 16th, and went straight to Paris,

where for some days she remained hidden in the house of a friend. But as soon as the day fixed for the assembly of the Parliament had arrived, she repaired to the door of the great chamber by five o'clock in the morning, and, as the councillors arrived, earnestly implored them to take charge of her petition claiming the liberty of her children. "As for myself," she said, "they want to send me a hundred leagues from hence, and shut me up in a wretched prison. But is it not just that I should rather remain at Paris, to watch over the interests of my unfortunate family; and with what can I be reproached, but that I am the mother of the Prince de Condé?" Nevertheless, when it had transpired that her daughter, Madame de Longueville, had actually concluded a treaty with the Spaniards, no voice could be raised in her behalf; and all she could obtain from the Queen Regent was the permission to reside with a relation at the château de Châtillon, near Montargis. 1650. — her suit to the Parliament in behalf of her sons: her failure.

In the mean while the young Princess at Montrond was carrying on the defence of the château with great activity. She had much to fear from any interruption on the part of her enemies before she was prepared: and one day a troop of Royalist cavalry actually arrived to reconnoitre the fort. She was urged to consult her own safety by flight; but, with a spirit worthy of the wife of a hero, she replied, "I will never take to flight while there remains a single post to defend: and I hope every thing from the mercy of God, who is always the protector of the innocent." In a little time 600 officers and soldiers of the garrison of Bellegarde arrived at the château de Montrond in small bands; and several gentlemen devoted to her cause appeared there from different parts of France. At length she received there a gentleman from the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who announced that his master was gone to have an interview with the Duc de Bouillon, and that both had undertaken Bordeaux takes Condé's part: the Princess is invited to put herself at the head of an army.

1650. to declare themselves in favour of Condé with all their neighbours and vassals, if the Princess would come and put herself, with her son, at their head. Lenet, whose prudent counsel regulated her conduct, had the sagacity to see that on such occasions as an open conflict with the regular forces of the Crown, it would not do to trust to bands of retainers, who had little discipline, and nothing but their enthusiasm and a sort of feudal attachment to rely upon. He therefore suggested that it would be necessary to seek to bring to their cause some great city with a powerful bourgeoisie and a parliament; and, taking advantage of a recent discontent, he succeeded in negotiating and bringing over to the cause of the revolt the powerful city of Bordeaux. It was not very difficult to foresee that the assistance which she sought to obtain from such a quarter depended on promises that might fail in the moment of danger. Still, for the service of her husband and her son, Clémence de Maillé did not hesitate to undertake the perilous part which was proposed to her, by giving the signal for a civil war, and placing herself at the head of an army. When these events came to be related to the Prince by Dalenée, he was by chance walking on a little terrace in the Donjon, watering some pinks which he had amused himself with rearing. "Would you ever have believed," said Condé, with a smile, "that my wife should be waging war while I am watering my garden?"

The Princess secretly leaves Montrond, and hastens to the residence of the Duc de Bouillon.

The Princess had fixed the 8th May for quitting Montrond; and, to prevent the suspicion being carried to her enemies of such a stir as this occasioned in the château, she announced for that day a great hunting party in pursuit of roebucks, and under this pretext invited all the officers and gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Nearly 120 obeyed her summons. The day having turned to rain, the party was postponed on the chance of its clearing up. When all at once the Governor ordered that the wicket should be closed,

and that no one should leave the fortress. At the same time a grand supper had been prepared, to which every one sat down in the great saloon. In the midst of the repast, and unexpectedly, the Princess was seen to enter the room, leading her son by the hand. "I go away," she said, "with very great regret at separating myself and my son from so many brave men, to whom I would cheerfully confide my life and his. But at least I hold the consolation that I leave this important fortress of Montrond—the only resource of our afflicted house—in the hands of gentlemen of your merit. You will know how to shed generously your blood in its defence, and give it back one day into the hands of the Prince who loved you so well, and whom you aided so gallantly in gaining so many battles glorious to the State, and repaid to himself by a cruel prison." It was near midnight when the Princess tore herself away from so many faithful servants, to enter her coach with her ladies. Escorted by about fifty horsemen, she travelled all night: but as soon as morning broke she mounted on a pillion beside the Count de Coligny, and sent back her carriages. These fell into the hands of the Royalists under the Count de St. Aignan; but the secret was faithfully kept as to the fact of the Duchesse having used them, and she got safe without any pursuit to the château of Montaigu, where Clémence was received with great hospitality by the Marchioness de Bouiller. On the following day she pushed on as far as Lempde; and on the 12th reached the house of the Count de Cavillac; and next day she joined the advanced guards of the Ducs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucauld. 1650.

Reception of the Princess at the château de Turenne.

On the 14th Her Highness was conducted by the Duc de Bouillon to his château de Turenne. She was met on the road by the Dukes themselves, attended by eight squadrons of cavalry and a great many gentlemen; and she and her son received them on horseback. The young Duc d'Enghien, addressing

1650. — them with very good grace, said, "I am no longer afraid of Mazarin, since I am surrounded by so many brave men; and I now hope for my dear Papa's liberty from your valour." All drew their swords in that enthusiastic style which is so characteristic of the French soldiers, and exclaimed, "Long life to the King and the Princes; and down with Mazarin." The eight days that the Princess rested at the château de Turenne were passed with a feudal magnificence and sumptuous hospitality that reminds one of the days of Froissart and Walter Scott. Four tables, of twenty-five covers each, all magnificently served, were filled with jovial guests, who began and ended their carousals with the health of the Prince de Condé, always drunk, whether standing or kneeling, with uncovered heads, and swords in hand. The Duc contrived all the amusements and diversions he could imagine. The neighbours all came to visit the Princess, who indulged herself and them with all kinds of pleasantry.

The Princess is received with enthusiasm by the citizens of Bordeaux, 31st May.

The Count d'Epernon, who commanded the Royal troops at Bordeaux, had been forced to quit it in consequence of the hatred which his tyranny had inspired; but nevertheless the city, with its Magistracy and Parliament, received the injunctions of the Court against the adherents of Condé with respect, and were disposed to obey them. It had become necessary for Clémence, however, to occupy that city without the least delay; for till now she had acted with some indirectness, in order to deceive Mazarin. The 22nd May was fixed for her march down the banks of the Dordogne. Accompanied by her son, she began her march with 2400 men—infantry and cavalry, and reached Montfort the first day. This little troop, being increased on the march by about 200 horse, had reached Limeuil, a small town built at the confluence of the Dordogne and the Vezère, when rumours arrived that a Royal army, under Chevalier de la Valette, was

marching to intercept the passage to the city. The two Dukes instantly determined to give battle; and, leaving the Princess under an escort, they marched away by night to Monclar, where they found the *Epernonistes* (as they were called) encamped, and forthwith fell upon them, and routed them so effectually that many were killed and taken prisoners, and all the baggage was captured: this last was so valuable as to afford the spoil to be divided, being rated at 300,000 Louis d'or. The consequence of the battle of Monclar was an immediate order for the forward march, in the course of which nearly 1000 men, levied from her Duchy of Fronsac, joined the army of Condé. As Clémence approached the city, she heard that the populace had already risen in her favour, and broken down the gates. But it was recommended to her to quit her hostile train, and to cross the Garonne in a fishing-boat, with merely her son and her faithful female attendant, and to throw herself boldly on the personal attachment of the citizens for her husband and herself. Her entrance on the 31st May was a complete triumph. In spite of the loyal resistance of Colonel d'Alvimar, she made her way, and this commandant fell into her hands: but with great nobility of character she would not permit the King's representative to be ill-used, but set him at liberty, advising him not to undertake a second mission against her. 1650.

Decision of the Parliament of Bordeaux respecting the claims of the Princess.

On the 1st June she went on foot, leading her son in her hand, to the house of the Parliament. Here the magistrates were assembled in hot debate whether they should countenance an overt act of rebellion against the King's authority. The debate lasted so long, that the Princess began to feel uneasy apprehensions respecting the result; and, urged alike by impatience and grief, she took her son by the hand, and rushed with him into the great chamber. Bathed in tears, she fell on her knees before them, and, in a discourse interrupted by sobs, implored their protection for her

1650. husband and her son from the injustice and tyranny of Cardinal Mazarin. "My son," she said, "who is only seven years of age, is the only representative left at liberty of his father, who has rendered such great services to the State, and who is in irons." "Servez-moi de père, messieurs," added the young Duc d'Enghien; "le Cardinal Mazarin m'a ôté le mien." Nevertheless, they were forced to withdraw; and the debate among the Magistrates was yet prolonged: compassion was on one side, loyalty and good policy on the other. At length, about six in the evening, a decree was announced: "That the Lady Princesse de Condé, and the Seigneur Duc d'Enghien her son, might reside in the town in safety under the safeguard of the laws."

The Princess seeks the aid of the Court of Spain.

The small end of the wedge being thus introduced, the two Dukes crossed the Garonne the next day, and took up their quarters in one of the faubourgs, where the Princess went openly to visit them. But again a report that arrived of the march of the Royal army of La Valette caused the Dukes to depart in all haste to lead their army against him. But the Royalists retired without striking a blow, and the time was now actively employed in assuring the base of further operations. The first difficulty was to obtain money to pay the troops; for it was not deemed prudent to seek any assistance from the citizens: and the prospect of maintaining a considerable force was so alarming, that the Princess resolved to follow up the negotiations that had been opened with the King of Spain, and to propose a treaty with him. Monsieur de Sillery, who was entrusted with this mission, succeeded in evading the watchfulness of the frontier posts, and, crossing the Pyrenees in safety, was received with favour by the Court of Madrid.

Successes of the insurgents at Bordeaux.

The situation of the Queen Regent and her Minister was becoming eminently critical. In the north Turenne, joined by the Archduke Leopold, had invaded Picardy,

where the important town of Guise fell into their power on the 1st July. Mazarin with considerable address resolved to carry Anne of Austria and the young King boldly to Bordeaux, and thus overawe the excitement which had been raised in favour of Clémence and her son. But in the meantime several little conflicts had been taking place round Bordeaux, and nearly all had terminated in favour of the insurgent party. Maréchal de la Meilleraie accordingly received the command of a more considerable army, which was immediately put in march for La Guyenne. 1650.

Arrival of a Spanish envoy at Bordeaux: dissatisfaction of the citizens.

On the 8th July Clémence was delighted at receiving intelligence that three Spanish frigates were entering the Garonne, that they conveyed Don Josef Ozorio, envoy of Philip IV., and were laden, as it was reported, with considerable treasure. It was resolved to receive the envoy with great solemnity; and accordingly the Princess sent her carriage with six horses to await him at the water-gate of the city. But the first outbreak of joy was much lowered when they found that he brought no men with him, and no more than 40,000 crowns of ready money. The intermediary of a Spaniard was not, however, to the taste of the eminently loyal city of Bordeaux, and it required all the brave bearing of Clémence de Maillé to prevent a serious reverse of her fortunes; nor could she appease the tumult but by the dismissal of Don Josef Ozorio back to Spain.

The Parliament of Bordeaux refuses to admit the Court and Cardinal: La Valette is killed in action.

The successful, resolute measures of the Princess struck with surprise and astonishment both the Queen Regent and the Cardinal, who had expected nothing of the kind from a "woman" hitherto deemed "of no character at all." On their arrival at Poitiers a prohibition was addressed to the citizens of Bordeaux in a letter signed by the King on the 1st August. But they took no notice of it, but issued a decree of the Parliament of Bordeaux, setting forth that the Cardinal should not be received into the town. Nevertheless

1650. — the Queen Regent's Court pursued its progress as far as Libourne, where, in a conflict, the Chevalier de la Valette, commanding the Royalist troops, was mortally wounded. But one Richon, who was captured in the château de Vayres against them, was hung in the market-hall as a punishment for his treason. The Bordelais immediately hung the Chevalier de Canolles in reprisal, and threatened to destroy the Archiepiscopal palace if any violence was committed against property; and the dread of such reprisals stopped further violence.

The Maréchal de la Meilleraie commanded an army of 8000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, and took possession of the island of St. George; by which capture the citizens were deprived of 1200 of their best infantry, who formed its garrison: but their spirit nevertheless did not flag.

Condé is removed, for greater security, to Marcoussis; and thence, in November, to Havre.

Their courage was also sustained at this moment by hearing that Turenne, overcoming the Royalist armies of Du Plessis and D'Hocquincourt, had almost reached the château de Vincennes, where he might have released Condé and his fellow-prisoners: but Gaston d'Orléans, who had been left in charge of Paris, had just time, on the 28th August, to remove them to his fortified château of Marcoussis, six leagues distant from the city. The hope that had been excited by this brilliant enterprise of Turenne reacted unfavourably on the mind of Condé, who saw now no hopes of escape. But, notwithstanding, his friends contrived means to convey letters to him, urging him to keep up his spirits; and a crutch, which the Prince de Conti had requested for himself, in consequence of some infirmity, was found to contain a sword for the victor of Rocroy. Means were also found of concocting a plan of escape; which would have been successful, but for one of the parties implicated being seized with remorse, and confessing the scheme to a priest. Anne of Austria was, however, unwilling to leave the precious charge of the prisoners to the untrustworthy hands of Gaston, and com-

manded the Count d'Harcourt to take the prisoners away from the château de Marcoussis, and secure them in the castle of Havre, where they were immured under the King's lock and key in the month of November. 1650.

At first the Maréchal de la Meilleraie attempted to obtain possession of Bordeaux by force, and commenced by an assault of the Faubourg St. Surin, and subsequently by the assault of the gate of Dijeaux. But such was the resolution and vigilance of the defenders, that they could not effect an entry; and, renouncing further attacks, the Maréchal removed his forces to some distance, and took measures for a bombardment. But the Cardinal opposed such a course, as calculated to ruin and for ever disgust the population of a large and flourishing city. Nevertheless the condition of the kingdom occasioned the Minister continual disquietude: "This affair," exclaimed the Cardinal, "is a thistle which pricks on every side." Accordingly, in order to finish with the insurrection at Bordeaux, he expressed himself ready to listen to some accommodation. Many circumstances concurred in bringing the Bordelais to a similar conclusion—especially that, as the autumn advanced, the grape harvest would be spoiled and the landlords ruined. A truce of ten days was accordingly concluded. But the Princess and the Dukes could not so far share the ardour of the city, unless the peace to be concluded bore hopefully upon the liberation of Condé and the other captives. An assembly of the Parliament of Bordeaux having been convoked at the Hôtel de Ville to deliberate upon the proposition, Clémence went thither in person, accompanied by her son and the two Dukes. The deputies employed as negotiators made an effort to obtain the deliverance of the Princes; but at the very first word, the request was strenuously rejected. Lenet was sent to the Court on a similar mission, but could obtain no reply but empty words. The accommodation was soon discussed, and terminated before the end of September. The town preserved its privileges;

The Princess retires from Bordeaux; and matters are accommodated between the Court and the Bordelais, September.

1650. and a full and complete amnesty was granted to all who had taken up arms. The Ducs de Bouillon and de la Rochefoucauld were restored to their employments; and the Princess and her son were permitted to retain and occupy the château of Montrond, or any other houses of her property, and all her revenues. On the 3rd October the Princess, her son, and the Dukes, with many ladies and gentlemen, left Bordeaux in a galley; and upwards of 20,000 persons are said to have followed her, heaping their blessings on both mother and son. So much had "her gentleness, her constant humanity, her heroic intrepidity in all dangers, her tenderness for her son, and her devotion for her husband, excited a tender admiration towards her in all classes."

The Princess is invited to attend the Court: her address to the Queen Regent, and its effect.

The Princess had already quitted the shore, and had set her face towards her house at Courtras, when she met on the river the Maréchal de la Meilleraie on his way to pay his respects to Her Highness, and to bring an invitation from the Queen Regent. Clémence expressed the highest repugnance to such a step, which was at once a painful, and, as she already knew full well, a useless one. But she was very strongly advised to comply with the command, in order that she might not neglect the smallest chance of obtaining the liberation of her husband. The prow of her galley was accordingly turned towards Bourg, where the Court was lodged, and the Maréchal plied his oars with energy to prepare for her arrival. On entering the Queen Regent's apartments, the Princess found there both the King and the Cardinal. She held her son by the hand, and was only attended by one lady. Clémence immediately bowed the knee before the Queen, and said to her, "Madame, I come to throw myself at your Majesty's feet to ask your forgiveness if I have done any thing which has displeased you. You must excuse the just grief of a private gentlewoman, who has had the honour to marry a Prince of the Blood now in a dungeon, and who apprehended the same fate for his only son,

whom she now has the honour to present to you. Both he and I, Madame, entreat with tears in our eyes the liberation of Monseigneur his father: grant it, Madame, for the sake of those great actions which he has done for the glory of France—grant it for the sake of the life he has so often risked for the service of the King and of the State; and grant it also to my humble prayer." The Queen replied at once, "I am very glad, my cousin, that you are conscious of your fault: you now see that you have taken the wrong means for obtaining what you ask. Now that you are about to adopt an opposite method, I will consider how and when I can give you the satisfaction which you request[5]." 1650.

Intrigues of Anne of Gonzaga, Princess Palatine, in favour of Condé.

And now a new heroine appears upon the scene, to affect the fortunes of the Prince de Condé. Anne of Gonzaga, Princess Palatine, had been well known for the wit and many gallantries of her youth. Among her other lovers was the Duc de Guise, Archbishop of Rheims, with whom, notwithstanding clerical celibacy, she lived as Madame de Guise. But the faithless churchman had in truth married another woman, when Anne returned to Paris and reassumed her name of the Princess de Gonzaga. She had conceived an enthusiastic admiration for the noble qualities of the Prince de Condé, and imagined a scheme for his advantage by forming an intermediary party between the Court and the Cardinal, founded on a declared hostility to the latter. She imparted her plan in confidence to Gondi (the Cardinal de Retz), who was ready enough to unite with others in hatred to Mazarin, but did not immediately see his way to his own objects by declaring himself as a partisan with her, although he honourably kept her counsel. She, however, drew around her in the first instance the Duchesse de Châtillon, the Duc de Nemours, the Presidents Viole

[5] Life of Condé.

1650. and de Nesmond, and many others. De la Rochefoucauld arrived in Paris to take part in these negotiations, but secretly, and was concealed in the house of the Princess Palatine: nevertheless he had several nocturnal conferences with the Cardinal at the Palais Royal, whither he went alone and disguised, and where the Cardinal came himself to open the door—candle in hand. What was the object of this intercourse, has not transpired, but at the same time Gondi was in communication with Mazarin, to obtain the Cardinalate, from whom he had received "un refus offensant." These two intriguers, meeting at the house of the Princess Palatine, signed "le projet d'un traité entre la vieille et la nouvelle Fronde." Gaston, Duc d'Orléans, had also met some new rebuff from Mazarin, had been displeased with Anne of Austria for taking the Princes out of his hands, and had taken as much of a resolution as was in his character to aid in their liberation. Accordingly he was persuaded, but only after some difficulty, to put his name to the treaty. Notwithstanding the vigilance of De Bar, who had the custody of the prisoners at Havre, means were successfully taken to apprise them of these proceedings.

The Parliament of Paris receives the petition of the Princess, and moves the Court for the liberation of her husband, Dec.

The Parliament of Paris was about to reassemble; and it was planned that the new *Frondeurs* should act through the means of that body, as it was said, "pour servir les Princes dans les formes et en gens de bien, et non pas comme des factieux." On the 7th December they were summoned to receive a petition from the Princesse de Condé that her husband might be brought up to the Louvre, guarded by the King's authority, to answer whatever might be alleged against his innocence; and that if no guilt could be proved against him, he should be set at liberty. Talon, as procureur-général, forbade the Parliament to receive the petition of the Princess. But it was so concocted, that another petition should be produced from Mademoiselle de Longueville in favour of her brother; and one Des-

poches, an attendant of Condé's, was furnished with a demand from the prisoners themselves,—that they might obtain their liberty. The deliberations of the Parliament on this subject continued till the 18th, when the Prince's party was suddenly stunned by the news of a great victory that had been won by the Royal troops under Maréchal du Plessis over the Frondeurs under Maréchal de Turenne, near Retch, which town had been surrendered by the Spaniards under Dellipònti to the Maréchal, and that Mazarin himself had watched the battle from the top of the church-tower. Triumphant under this success, the Cardinal appeared in Paris the last day of the year. Such, however, was the disgust and fear of his ascendancy in every breast at this period, that the Parliament, in the teeth of his momentary success, decided by a large majority that they would make remonstrances to the Queen Regent to obtain the liberation of the Princes. 1650.

This remonstrance of the Parliament was carried to Her Majesty on the 23rd January, 1651, and was supported by the President Moli with such strength of language as to rouse the young King to an intemperate reply. But his mother prudently assuaged matters by promising that Condé should be set at liberty as soon as his sister and Turenne laid down their arms. The excitement of party had, however, become already so intense, that a slight spark hastened an explosion, and on the 7th February the Parliament was induced to petition the Queen Regent "to dismiss Cardinal Mazarin from her presence and her councils." The people out of doors, great and small, supported this bold resolution; and the Italian, with the extraordinary judgment and artfulness of his character, saw the necessity of bending to the storm, but resolved to hold firm to the substance of power. Armed by the Queen with secret instructions to the Sieur de Bar, that he might act according to circumstances on the subject of the Princes, he secretly left Paris, and 1651. The Parliament moves an address to the Queen Regent to dismiss Mazarin; who artfully seeks to ingratiate himself with Condé, 13th Feb.

1651. hurried to Havre, determined to treat, if possible, with Condé himself, in order to attach him to the side of the Crown against "La Fronde et les maximes républicaines." He reached the prison of the Princes on the morning of the 13th February, escorted by troops; but the news of his reverse of fortune had preceded him, and De Bar refused to admit the Cardinal's troops. Leaving, therefore, his escort, he entered the citadel, and presented himself before Condé. At the unexpected sight of his mortal enemy, Condé could not conceal his joy, but evinced neither arrogance on the one hand nor meanness on the other; he treated his foe with marked politeness, which bordered not a little on disdain. After a repast he prepared to enter the coach that was waiting to carry his fellow-prisoners and himself to Paris, after having listened to all the artful representations of Mazarin, who descended himself with him to the carriage-door, and anticipated with vexation the reception he felt sure would be accorded to the illustrious captives on their appearance in Paris.

Condé is liberated: public rejoicings at the event.

With unspeakable joy Condé found himself at liberty, with his sword at his side. Public rejoicing attended him on his journey and on his entry into the capital from the countless multitudes that lined the way,—all were anxious once more to see and hail their hero. He had supplied himself with some treasure to distribute as he went, until at length he had nothing left on his person of value but his cherished sword, when, hearing a young officer express a desire to possess it, he unbuckled and gave it him, saying, "May it gain for you the *bâton* of a Maréchal of France!" And it is added that the fortunate possessor distinguished himself greatly in the service, and was killed when fighting under the Prince himself, twenty-four years later, as a Brigadier, at the battle of Senef. Every one will be glad to know that in the midst of these rejoicings the intrepid and virtuous Clémence

arrived from Montrond with her son, and that her husband thenceforward treated her no longer with the contempt he had shown her ever since her marriage, but with the affection and esteem she had so well earned at his hands. 1651.

Triumph of Condé: fall of Mazarin.

At this moment, when Condé stood on a noble elevation, the Parliament—the *Frondes*—every party in the State—the most highly honoured magistrates—the ablest politicians—the most valiant soldiers—were all on his side; and the favour of the common people responded to this general alliance of the upper classes. His enemy Mazarin had been foiled, disgraced, and driven out of the kingdom. The Queen Regent, damaged in general estimation, no longer possessed any real power, and was almost a prisoner in the midst of her own Court. Such was the pre-eminent power of Condé, that it would appear he might almost have seized the throne, and most certainly the Regency. He was actually urged to this latter step; but his ambition was not disloyal;—"il n'alla jusqu'où il pouvait aller; ne sut se donner ni à la Cour ni à la Fronde, et perdit au bout de peu de tems tous les avantages de l'incomparable situation qui lui avait été faite[6]." He had rather too much of the courtier for the exigencies of the time; or he would, as a patriot, have dismissed an Italian adventurer from the helm of affairs, and secured the true interests of France by requiring that no one but a native-born Frenchman should act under the Regent in its government.

Artful advice of Mazarin to the Queen Regent: signal success of his policy: discord in Condé's party.

Condé probably was not aware that Anne of Austria was at this very time as absolutely governed by her minion, the Cardinal, from abroad, as though he had been still at the Palais Royal. His artful dissimulation prompted his advice to the Queen to gorge the *Frondeurs* with places and pensions, and to let the necessary consequence of patronage follow; that dis-

[6] Trognon, Histoire de France.

1651. agreements among themselves and disappointments would sever their ill-cemented power. The demands of the Prince were so numerous and so exorbitant, that even the fount of the supreme authority was not sufficiently abundant to satisfy them; so that Condé himself at length exclaimed, "How much happier was the Duc de Beaufort than I, who only owed his liberty to himself and his own domestics!"

The deeply designing Mazarin saw in the horizon another storm brewing, that would inevitably divide the party of his enemies, and hasten his return to power. It had been mainly owing to a woman's intrigues that he had succumbed to a confederacy. He therefore instigated Anne of Austria to excite Condé's displeasure against the marriage that had been agreed upon between his weak brother, the Prince de Conti, and a young intriguante, who was known to be intimate with Gondi. The result was, that the Princess Palatine, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, the Coadjutor, and all their friends, violently irritated, threw themselves into a party against Condé, while discord also penetrated into the Prince's own family; so that a very few weeks dissolved the formidable combination which had driven forth Mazarin and given liberty to Condé, who, revelling in a fancied security, was on the eve of falling again under the hatred of the Queen Regent and the Cardinal, who had actually taken measures for his arrest, if Gondi had not assured Her Majesty how impracticable it would be to seize him "dans une maison toute en défiance, et contre l'homme du plus grand courage qui soit au monde." A ridiculous anecdote must be opposed to this. On the 6th July, Condé, being apprised of the steps taken by the Queen, left Paris; but hearing on the road the sound of horses, he concluded them to be horsemen sent to take him, and he set off at full gallop for Meudon. But they turned out to be only some marketers with pack-horses and asses; and "thus, by a strange freak of

fortune, the most intrepid man of his age was made to fly before women, children, and donkeys." 1651.

The Prince withdrew to his house at St. Maur, where he collected around him his wife, his brother, and sister, and the Ducs de la Rochefoucauld and Nemours, Messieurs Arnaud, Lenet, together with many of those uncertain persons who are ready enough to attach themselves to a party for the excitement and pleasure of it, but who very frequently forsake or betray it when called upon for action. The Queen was, however, alarmed at any thing like the recurrence of civil war, and caused it to be declared on her Royal word that she never entertained the intention of arresting Monsieur le Prince.

Condé's proceedings against the Court: the King attains his majority, 7th Sept.

It is scarcely necessary in a slight biography to recount all the steps by which Condé lapsed again into open war against the King, the Queen Regent, and the Government. As a *coup d'Etat*, the young King, who was only thirteen years of age, was made to hold a *Lit de Justice* on the 7th September, 1651, to declare his majority; and the first Prince of the Blood designedly absented himself from this ceremony, and sent his brother the Duc de Conti with a letter to the young King in which he excused himself on account of the calumnies reiterated against him, which prevented his paying the respect which he entertained *solely* for His Majesty. This insinuation against the Regent stung her to the quick, and Anne of Austria exclaimed, "M. le Prince périra, ou je périrai." This bitterness of speech, and her well-known fell determination to carry it out, drove Condé to negotiate first with the Duc d'Orléans, and subsequently with Turenne, for the renewal of war à l'outrance against the Regent. Under pretence of repairing to his government of La Guyenne, Condé assembled all his friends at Montrond, in the same château where his faithful wife Clémence again appeared, no longer as the spirited chief of a cabal that had there assembled formerly to defend it, but as now acting in absolute submission to

1651. her husband's will; and the Prince, who had then been the object of all their anxieties, now stood amongst them as their energetic leader. It is believed that the fatal step of civil war would not have been now even the choice of the King's cousin but for the influence of his unworthy sister, the Duchesse de Longueville, who by her violence pushed him into the extreme proceeding of open rebellion. "Remember that I draw the sword against my own judgment, and that you will be sooner weary of the war than I shall be, when it is once undertaken," was a prophecy that met with complete accomplishment.

Condé's public entry into Bordeaux, 22nd Sept.

On the 22nd September Condé made a public entry into Bordeaux, where he was received with an enthusiasm not uncommon with the Gascons, as the conqueror of Rocroy—as the prisoner of Vincennes—and as the King's governor of Guyenne. On the first news of this reception, the Queen despatched a courier with propositions for an accommodation; but the man mistook the direction of Angerville for Augerville, and before he could correct the mistake, the first step of war was taken. It is impossible to justify the Prince de Condé, when he thus recklessly plunged his country into civil war for no public principle, nor even for any private injury. It might even have been prevented if he had returned to Paris when he received the Queen's letter. In after life he had the candour to admit that he had made himself "le plus criminel des hommes." But the wickedness and frivolity of the act was even exceeded by its fatuity. He could never have relied upon the co-operation of his friend Turenne, who had a heart too loyally attached to his Sovereign to accept the commission entrusted to him of raising Champagne and Picardy against the Government; but on the contrary, he accepted the King's commission to act against the rebel, who had now no other resource but to apply for aid to the enemies of France. He accepted the assistance of troops from Spain; and

it is confidently asserted by Burnet, that he negotiated for the aid of Cromwell and his republican English. But what added to the marvellous confusion of France at this moment was, that Mazarin put an army into the field on his own account; and, as it would appear, he had resolved to act for himself in the scramble, for he gave the command of the 7000 men raised at his expense to the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt, and clothed them in green scarves, that was the colour of his livery; while the white scarf distinguished the Royal army under Turenne and D'Harcourt; and the "Isabel colour" was adopted for his banner by Condé. 1651.

The Queen Regent, however, promptly took the field; and, having driven the rebels out of the province of Berri, she advanced upon Guyenne. The Prince, seeing how important it was for him to gain, if possible, some reputation to the cause he had adopted, although he could not with all his extraordinary activity assemble above a few thousand raw recruits without discipline or experience, or even ammunition, yet, nevertheless, sent La Rochefoucauld to lay siege to Cognac, a fortified town that commanded the passage of the Charente, and hastened himself from Bordeaux, with the Duc de Nemours and 4000 cavalry, to check the Royal army. The opposing forces marched along the two banks of the above river; but the bridge that might have enabled Condé to act in concert with Rochefoucauld having been carried away by a sudden rise of the waters, the besiegers were forced to raise the siege of Cognac in the very sight of the Prince. He at once resolved to repair the loss by an advance upon La Rochelle on the 14th November, to save the town, which he had already garrisoned; but Maréchal d'Harcourt forestalled him by a forced march, and got possession of the place by the capitulation of the inhabitants on the 6th December. Condé fails in the siege of Cognac, and in the relief of La Rochelle.

It was a grievous disappointment to Condé to find himself obliged to give way before the discipline and The Parliament registers the

1651. strength of the King's forces. His great military genius occasionally came to his aid in more than one encounter, and even rendered his adversary timid in using his superiority of force. Towards the end of the year, however, he received, by the defection of the Count de Marsin, who commanded for the King in Catalonia, some troops of the line. But his adversary D'Harcourt also received reinforcements out of Flanders, so that the Prince held Guyenne against him to the same disadvantage; and in no other province of the Kingdom did fortune smile on Condé's arms. To add to the hazard of his prospects, the Parliament, on hearing of his treaty with Spain, consented to register the King's letter patent, which declared him and all his partisans guilty of high treason.

King's letter patent declaring Condé and his partisans guilty of high treason.

But the failing fortunes of Condé revived the hopes of the Cardinal, who still corresponded with the Queen Regent, and thought the opportunity favourable to announce that, "knowing the state of affairs in France, he was preparing to conduct an army to the assistance of the King." At this news the Parliament turned its resentment against Mazarin, declared him also guilty of high treason, and set a price upon his head. Voltaire relates that they were at a loss what price to fix; but, on referring to precedent, it was found that Charles IX. had set the sum of 50,000 crowns upon the head of Coligni; they accordingly set a like price upon the head of the Minister. Every thing, however, that was done in France at this period was done *en farceur*. The wits rose above all the troubles of the intestine conflict, and the walls of Paris were covered with placards parcelling out the 50,000 crowns in so much for an ear, and so much for an eye, &c. The Parliament, equally absurd in the folly of its enactments, not contented with offering a reward for Mazarin's head, ordered the sale of all his effects; and directed that the militia should every where fall upon the troops of the "green scarf." The Regent, to punish

The Parliament sets a price upon Mazarin's head: the Regent transfers their sitting to Pontoise.

an excess that she did not approve, made use of the Royal authority to prohibit the Parliament from sitting at Paris, and transferred their sittings to Pontoise; so that, to add to the general confusion, there existed two Parliaments at one and the same time. 1651. —

A new heroine came on the stage at this period. Turenne had combined the armies of the King and Mazarin, and had taken Angers from the Duc de Rohan, who had held it for the Prince, but he was suddenly stopped before Orleans. The famous Mademoiselle de Montpensier mounted her horse, and at the head of her father's adherents, on the 25th March, 1652, defied the Royal admission. In the meantime Condé, having surmounted a thousand dangers, transported himself as by enchantment from Angers, at the further extremity of France, to his own château at Chatillon, and immediately uniting all his forces by the junction of the Ducs de Beaufort and de Nemours, threw himself into Montargis, that he might interpose himself between the Royalist army and Paris. Turenne and D'Hocquincourt had with this view crossed to the right bank of the Loire. It was part of the strategy of our able Prince to act upon the boldest resolutions of the moment, and to execute them with promptitude, unexpectedly alike both to friend and foe. He fell upon the quarters of D'Hocquincourt, on the night of the 3rd April, with an energy and vigour that gave no time for any resistance; and, before Turenne was prepared, followed the fugitives with fire and sword into the heart of his camp. The Maréchal instantly recognized the author of this *camisado*, although he did not know that Condé had joined his army. "Monsieur le Prince est arrivé," was his instant exclamation; "c'est lui qui commande cette armée." 1652. Condé defeats the Royalists, under d'Hocquincourt, 3rd April.

The news of this success of Condé struck dismay into the heart of the Queen Regent at Gien, where from her windows she saw with the morning light Sharp but indecisive conflict between

1652. the whole country covered with the fugitives of the King's army. Her Majesty, anxious for the safety of the young King, sent off at once to inquire of the Maréchal de Turenne whether she ought not to retire with her son to Bourges for security. "Le Roi peut demeurer à Gien sans rien craindre," was the assuring and soldier-like reply. His firmness was not only that of words, for he instantly supported it by the most skilful dispositions. He took up an excellent position, in order to command the great causeway. Condé, as soon as he had reconnoitred the ground, determined to attack. But when he gave orders for the assembling of his troops for this object, he found that the vagrant force he commanded had all disbanded for pillage. The delay that resulted before he could collect his men gave a proportionate advantage to Turenne, who was enabled to rally and reform into their ranks the fugitives of D'Hocquincourt's army. At last, about mid-day, Condé commenced his attack. The Prince sent forward his infantry into the woods on the right and left of the road, commanding them to maintain a hot and well-sustained fire, which appeared to have answered its purpose, for the Royalists fell back, and the "Isabelle scarves" of the cavalry might be seen spreading over the plain below. But Turenne's retreat was only a feint. He watched Condé's horse defile over the causeway, and, before a third of them had time to form, the Maréchal sent the Royalist horse under the fire of a masked battery, and the assault came to nothing; while the Prince withdrew his men, and did not renew the attack for the rest of the day, but at night retired in good order towards Châtillon, while Turenne, on his side, retreated into Gien. The account given by Condé of the affair was, that the Maréchal was too well posted, and his own people too much gorged with their booty, to give him the least chance of any success.

Condé and Turenne.

Condé visits Paris:

The progress of this extraordinary civil war is so

much mixed up with the frivolities of the principal hero of it, that it scarcely reads like a serious political conflict, or even like a military campaign. Condé, leaving the command of his army to Messieurs de Tavannes and de Vallon, repaired to Paris. Here he was received by the populace with a sort of triumph, and with repeated cries of "Long live the Prince, and death to Mazarin." But the day after his arrival he had the audacity to take his seat in the Parliament, and even to speak to the assembled conclave, when he was rebuked by the President, who told His Highness, with great austerity, "that the Parliament could not see with a favourable eye a Prince of the Blood guilty of high treason, in declared alliance with the enemies of the State, and seated on the *fleur-de-lis*, while his hands were yet stained with the blood of the Royal troops." It might be supposed that such independent language would have been followed up by some decisive action, or that the Prince would have been forbidden to appear again in that assembly. But on the contrary, he repeated his visit in company with Gaston, Duc d'Orléans, and a very unseemly discussion occurred in this "great council of the nation." But Condé had other occupations quite congenial to his own character and to the habits of Parisian society. He had left his good wife, Clémence, behind at Montrond, eight months gone with child, and he now heard of her being in the extreme of danger. But he consoled himself by making love to the Duchesse de Châtillon, who, offended at the infidelity of her lover, the Duc de Nemours, offered no discouragement to the Prince's attentions. And Mademoiselle de Montpensier relates that the Prince would have been quite consoled for the loss of his intrepid, faithful, and devoted wife "by the hope of marrying me." Yet at the very moment of such baseness, and while steeped up to the neck in adultery and general debauchery, Condé affected the greatest devotion in public, in the

1652. — attends the sittings of the Parliament: his illicit amours: his affected piety.

1652. — hope of gaining the applause of the fickle multitude by pretending a fervour of piety. He awaited a procession carrying the relics of St. Geneviève on his knees in the public street, rushed forward like a madman, kissing them a thousand times with transport, so that the edified spectators exclaimed aloud, "Oh, the good Prince! Oh, how devout he is!"

Mazarin is recalled by the Court.

At length Condé, hearing that the Court had established itself at St. Germains, returned on the 23rd April, and took again the command of his troops, who had in his absence been worsted and driven back upon Etampes, and were now reduced to 5000 men. These he led to St. Cloud, where the bridge enabled him still to communicate with the capital. The Duc de Lorraine had in the meanwhile entered France with a force in the pay of Spain, and set himself in opposition to Turenne; but the Court employed against him the artillery of a good sum of money, and the illustrious Condotierro again quitted the kingdom on the 14th June. Negotiations were at this time endeavoured to be opened upon the principle of the dismissal of Mazarin, who had again been received by the Court; and the King would have consented to his dismissal if the Princes would return to their allegiance, but, singularly enough, they refused the terms.

Condé routed by Turenne near the Porte St. Antoine, 2nd July.

Two Royal armies,—the one under the command of Turenne, and the other under that of the Maréchal de la Ferté,—now joined, and fixed their quarters about St. Denis; and Condé, having resolved to move away from St. Cloud, prepared intrenchments upon the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Marne and Seine, behind Charenton, to which he resolved to move his army. With this view, on the night of the 1st July, the Prince with great secrecy broke up his camp, and marched outside the walls of Paris towards Charenton. But, through the eyes of the many thousands who do not sleep at moments of such importance, information of the movement reached Turenne,

and at seven in the morning of the 2nd, Condé, heading the advance in person, was suddenly attacked, overcome, and routed, near the Pont St. Antoine. The army was immediately concentrated, and with great energy threw up barricades where the three streets of the faubourg met on entering the place in which the gate of St. Denis now stands: and the troops were distributed in such a manner as might best provide against the expected attack. Condé made his soldiers wear a wisp of straw in their caps, and Turenne, adopting a corresponding expedient, ordered his men to wear a piece of white paper as their distinctive badge. The young King, at the age of fifteen, was placed on a height above the Charonne, from whence he could see his subjects ranged, the one against the other, under the opposing commands of the two greatest warriors of France. 1652.

The conflict is renewed: Turenne is defeated; and Condé, through the exertions of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, gains an entry into Paris.

Turenne recognized the ability with which Condé prepared to receive the attack, and desired to await the arrival of a detachment, under M. de la Ferté, with his guns, before he commenced it. But the young King was eager to punish the rebels that stood in his very eyesight, and his impatience admitted of no delay. Accordingly Turenne yielded to the Royal entreaty, and made arrangements for the attack with his usual ability and vigour. The blood of France flowed freely on every side, but there were more officers than soldiers in the fray. The Queen Regent attended the issue of the conflict upon her knees before the altar of the chapel of the Carmelites. Gaston, Duc d'Orléans, with habitual inconstancy and indecision, rested at the palace of the Luxemburg to observe which way the wind blew, that he might determine what course to pursue. The people, fearful alike of both armies, stayed at home, and locked their doors: while the authorities allowed no one to pass in the streets. The heat of mid-day was so excessive, that a pause ensued for a time by common consent in the act of fratricidal slaughter.

1652. But the conflict was renewed again in the afternoon, when Condé and Turenne were both to be seen in the excitement of an equal energy, not far removed from each other, encouraging their followers. But, Monsieur de la Ferté having by this time arrived, the Maréchal pushed forward against the two flanks of his adversary, who, driven against the very gate, appeared ready to be crushed, when suddenly the Porte St. Antoine opened, and a crowd of citizens came out, armed, and resolute to protect the retreat of the rebels. This was the timely act of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who, tired of the inaction of her father, urged the magistrates' interference to save Condé; and armed with an order from her father, she at this moment entered the Bastile, and summoned back the Prince to join her within that fortress. He appeared before her in a disordered condition, both mentally and physically. Depressed from the effects of heat and dust, although not wounded, his linen was stained with blood, and the cuirass that he wore showed many blows. He carried his drawn sword in his hand, but had lost the scabbard. "Forgive my grief," he said to the Princess; "I am in despair, for I have lost all my friends; De Nemours, De la Rochefoucauld, and Clinchamp, are all mortally wounded." She encouraged him by the assurance that things were not so bad as he thought them, and urged him to return to his post and assemble all his troops, while, with the unreflecting impetuosity of a woman emboldened by her love for a man, she ordered the guns of the Bastile to be opened upon the King's army. Turenne, taken aback, was constrained to order his men from their protection out of the faubourg and to yield the day to his young rival. The King discovered, from the height on which he had beheld it, the turn that had been given to the battle of St. Antoine (as it was called), and could not restrain his indignation at having been forced to yield to the daring of his cousin and a woman. He then turned his way to St. Denis, and from thence with the

entire Court to Pontoise. Condé remained for the moment master of the capital, en dépit d'elle-même, for the magistrates and loyal citizens were outrageous at finding themselves placed under the power of a faction and in declared rebellion to the sovereign authority, and complained loudly of the weakness of those whose duty it had been to bridle the excesses of usurped authority in many, but especially in such an one as the great Mademoiselle, who had most unjustifiably been entrusted with the means of insulting and defying their Sovereign. Cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great lady's ambition to obtain a husband, remarked, "Ce canon là vient de tuer son mari." 1652.

Violent proceedings at the Hôtel de Ville: the Assembly submits, and the Duc d'Orléans is appointed Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, and Condé Generalissimo, 4th July.

On the 4th July the Prince, having urged the Duc d'Orléans to action, attended with him a General Assembly at the Hôtel de Ville, which was convoked for the purpose of taking further measures to uphold the rebellion. They knew too well the weakness of their cause to trust entirely to the power of cajoling the magistrates by this semblance of constitutional authority, and, accordingly, they mixed a great many soldiers *en habit de bourgeois* with the populace that assembled in the Place de Grève. These men had orders to proceed to the extremity of firing the Town Hall, and of doing any violence that might terrify the authorities into submission, if they should prove refractory. The result happened as he had anticipated. The Princes could not obtain the concurrence of the General Assembly in procuring the succours of men and money they needed, so that, quitting the Chamber, they appeared upon the steps of the Place de Grève, where they addressed the crowd in these hardly ambiguous words, "These gentlemen will do nothing for us: deal with them as you please." The consequence was in the first instance musket-shots, and then burning of the doors of the building; and a furious fight ensued on the part of the rabble and the disguised soldiers against the town-guard. Several hundred

1652. persons were killed. But Condé and Gaston escaped to the Luxemburg Palace, and it was past midnight before any thing like quiet was restored to the city. In the end the Parliament were frightened into a compliance with the rebel chiefs; and the Duc d'Orléans was proclaimed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and the Prince de Condé Generalissimo of the Army.

The Royalists gain ground: Condé falls sick through excessive anxiety.

Condé found he had gone too far; nevertheless, before the auspicious moment passed away, he contrived to obtain a decree of the Parliament on the 19th July, that "seeing the captivity of the King in the hands of Cardinal Mazarin, it was essential to the peace of the kingdom that the Minister should be removed from the King's Counsels." The wisp of straw continued as before to be the emblem of revolt and the rallying sign of rebellion. But nevertheless the paper cockade of the King's party began to be openly worn in Paris; and the Princes had the mortification of seeing the disproportion between the numbers of both parties continually going against them, and that the party of the King was gaining ground from day to day. The disgust of the false position in which he had fallen overwhelmed Condé with grief, and eventually threw him into a fever.

The castle of Montrond taken: Condé joins the Spanish forces under Fuensaldaña, 14th Oct.

During his illness a very propitious moment presented itself for again attacking the Royalist forces; but those who commanded at the time in Condé's place were not men to take advantage of the opportunity. A grievous incident to himself was the loss of his castle of Montrond, which at this juncture surrendered to the Maréchal de Clairembault, who demolished all the defences. Moreover the young King did not remain idle, but, assembling his Parliament at Pontoise, caused it to annul the decrees that had been made under the terror of the insurgents at Paris: and Cardinal Mazarin, adroitly seizing the proper moment, "reculer pour mieux sauter," solicited the Royal permission, at the meeting of the 12th August, to resign, and again to withdraw from the Court. In addressing

Louis XIV. on this occasion he is said to have made the melancholy declaration, "qu'il ne me reste pas un asile dans un royaume dont j'ai reculé toutes les frontières." The continuation of the civil war appeared henceforth without a motive, or even a pretext; and the citizens of Paris, of their own accord, petitioned the King that he would return to his capital. The Princes even declared openly that they only desired a sufficient amnesty to lay down their arms. But Anne of Austria declared proudly that it was no longer a case for negotiation, but for submission. The King caused the Parliament to enregister a decree of amnesty, but from this were excluded all those who had been engaged in the bold defiance against his authority of the 23rd June and the 4th July. Gaston, Duc d'Orléans at once submitted, and received orders to retire to Blois, where he had an estate which he was required never to quit; and there he remained till his death, eight years subsequently. Condé acted more like a hero, when he declared that, if he were not to be forgiven, he would fight it out; and collecting together his little army he quitted Paris on the 14th October, and forced his way to join the Spanish army under Fuensaldaña, with the troops of the Duc de Lorraine. Here he found himself opposed by Maréchal Turenne, who was too strongly posted to be disturbed by any efforts their united power could make against him. The united forces of Condé and Lorraine consisted of 80 squadrons and 8000 foot; Turenne had but 18 squadrons and 5000 infantry. 1652.

Condé's disloyalty: is made Generalissimo of the Spanish armies.

At this important juncture in the life of our hero, we must stop a moment to reflect upon the character of one like the Prince of Condé, a deserter from the allegiance of his Sovereign, endeavouring to wound the Prime Minister through the sides of his country. The demon of faction and the god of war had united their influence to sway a naturally violent and haughty spirit, and to extinguish all sense of duty and decency

1652. even in a Prince of the Blood Royal, who was content to continue a rebel in order to find pleasure in the vulgar excitement of an adventurous life. Enamoured of war, it seems to have been indifferent to him whether he made it against his own country or that of a foreigner. He so far forgot his birth as to accept from Philip IV., King of Spain, then at open war with Louis XIV., the patent of Generalissimo of the Spanish armies assembled on the frontier to invade his native country.

The Court returns to Paris, Oct. Fuensaldaña, separates from Condé, Nov.

The Queen Regent and the young King, followed by a brilliant cavalcade, in which Turenne also was seen, entered Paris in October, 1652. Turenne, immediately after witnessing the re-establishment of the Royal authority in the capital, hastened away to resume the command of his army. The two great military rivals were therefore soon again in face. In the first days of November Condé had taken several small towns which Turenne could not relieve, and on the 13th November sat down before Bar le Duc, which Monsieur de la Ferté had entrusted, with a sufficient garrison, to the government of an efficient officer, named Roussillon, who, with something of vain glory, declined an accession of 500 men, which was offered to him. But nevertheless, to the great disgust of the Maréchal, he shamefully capitulated before even a practicable breach had been formed in his walls. This unexpected success was followed up by the capture of Ligny[7]. Turenne

[7] Anecdotes of rash, useless courage are rife in every army. Just before the capitulation of Bar, Lieutenant-General Fauge, one of the best officers of Condé's army, supped with the Prince in the trenches, the night before the assault, and became so drunk, that in his pot-courage he wrapped the napkin about his head, and, in defiance of all the exertions used to detain him, went out in this guise into the trenches to attack the foe, and there received a shot in the head which killed him on the spot. Drunkenness appears to have been a vice common in the French armies at this time, and the Memoir of the Duke of York records other instances of the above kind.

was for the moment staggered at Condé's activity and resolution; but on the 25th November he became aware that the Count de Fuensaldaña had for some cause or other marched away his army. The opposing armies were now therefore reduced to more of an equality. The Prince, after obtaining one or two more unimportant possessions, established his winter quarters about Stenay, and was disposed to regard the campaign as at an end. 1652.

The Maréchal was not the man to allow his old comrade any spare leisure, when he thought he had him more in his power, and was a remarkable instance in the French armies of a leader who despised wintry weather; for although the frost was severe, and the ways destroyed by sludge and snow, Turenne, the day after he became apprised of Fuensaldaña's separation from Condé, ordered the Prince's quarters to be beaten up, and gave him no rest till he reached St. Mihel, in Luxemburg, on the 30th. He then turned back, and, having recaptured Ligny, sat down to retake Bar le Duc. Condé, having been once roused, was as much on the alert as his rival; and, though the weather was of most extreme severity, he resolved to disturb the siege, and was intent on this course when he received information that Cardinal Mazarin was approaching the Royal army with a considerable reinforcement. The Prince had reached Vautecourt, about five leagues from Bar le Duc, on the 15th December, when he received this intelligence. Condé, therefore, all at once becoming alive to his danger, set fire to the village, and made a speedy retreat from so dangerous a neighbourhood. The frost was moreover so severe, that many of both armies perished from cold; and the cavalry could only march by dismounting and proceeding on foot. The north-east wind in the open province of Champagne appears to be at all times most penetrating. Turenne compels Condé to retreat, Dec.

On the 6th January, 1653, Condé was apprised that The Royalists take

1653. — Château Portien: Turenne and Mazarin return to Paris, where the Cardinal is warmly welcomed by the King.

D'Elbeuf and D'Aurant had sat down before Château Portien, and that the German had agreed to capitulate if he were not relieved. Accordingly His Highness thought an exertion required to save the place. But on reaching Chaumont he found the whole cavalry of the Royal army swarming in all the neighbouring villages, while the place was exposed to a siege of mines that had so utterly ruined the defences that it could not be saved. The Royal army, guided by the vigour and resolution of such counsels as were given from Maréchal de Turenne and Cardinal Mazarin, pursued their career of success, and, notwithstanding their privations, kept the field until the 28th January, when the Cardinal and Generals concluded their long and brilliant campaign by repairing to Paris, where Mazarin was received with great affection by the young King, who came beyond the gates of the capital to receive the Cardinal in his own carriage, and to replace him at the head of affairs.

Condé vainly seeks the aid of Cromwell: rout of the "Ormists."

The Prince took advantage of a cessation of arms on both sides to repair to Brussels in March, to concert measures with the Archduke Leopold, now Spanish Viceroy of the Netherlands; and to come to some understanding, if possible, as to the co-operation he was to expect from the Count of Fuensaldaña. The fiery soul of Condé could not brook the phlegmatic, formal delays of the Spanish Count; and in April he resolved to address himself to the Lord Protector, Cromwell, to seek assistance from England, by way of reviving the Huguenot spirit in the south-west of France. Here the wife and son of Condé still occupied Bordeaux, supported by the democratic party, at this time called *de l'Ormée*, from the avenue of elm-trees under which they held their meetings. But it was no part of the policy of the interregnum government of England to meddle in the affairs of France,—political or religious,—and Cromwell declined to render any assistance. Driven to his own resources, Condé obtained possession,

through his adherents, of Mont de Mazan and other places. But the appearance of a Royal squadron in the Gironde under the Duc de Vendôme, in the month of June, scattered the Ormists; and the Princess of Condé was glad to accept passports, and to quit Bordeaux, which no longer acknowledged her husband. 1653. —

It was not until the 27th July that Condé, associated with Fuensaldaña at the head of 27,000 troops, composed of Spaniards, Germans, Italians, Lorrainers, Walloons, and French rebels, penetrated into France. Turenne had but an inferior army to oppose them, but other aid appeared. Discord soon broke out between the Spanish leader and the Prince. The latter wished to march straight to Paris—the former was far less enterprising. At length a compromise between them enabled their army to reach Roye. But in the meantime Turenne had taken action. Seeing the coast clear, he sat down before Rhetel, and on the 9th July, after four days' open trenches, got possession of it. Camped at Noircourt on the 11th, the Maréchal received an express from the Governor of Rocroy, that a portion of Condé's army was in cantonments in the Ardennes. Turenne immediately resolved to attempt a surprise; but he found himself anticipated, and returned in all haste to Noircourt on the 14th. The Spanish army at this time numbered 30,000 men, with artillery and all *munitions de guerre* in abundance; but discord reigned more than ever in their councils. The Archduke Leopold had arrived to take the command; but a dispute as to priority ensued between His Imperial Highness and Condé—neither would even go to the other's quarters to receive the order of the day. The army encamped "auprès de l'Arbre de Guise," was prepared to invade Picardy, but these dissensions marred all their measures. The Spanish army was in presence of that of the King on the 1st August, and marched towards Ham, with the Somme on its right flank, and passed through the defiles

Turenne takes Rhetel, 9th July: dissensions between Condé and Fuensaldaña.

1653. between St. Simon and Claistres. But the Royal army did not consist of more than 8000 foot and 10,000 horse. Every historian dwells with praise upon the skill of Maréchal Turenne in the campaign of 1653 with such an inferiority. Instead of seeking to cover Paris by retiring behind the Oise, he boldly crossed the Somme, and threw himself between his adversary and his supplies. Condé, vexed at his ill destiny in being colleagued with Fuensaldaña, could do no more than protect his convoys; but he endeavoured to strike a blow by the surprise of Guiche on the 16th August. Here, however, he found his ever vigilant adversary prepared to protect it.

Condé again falls sick: his troops take Rocroy, 22nd Sept.: his harsh treatment of his wife.

Having secured an ample siege material in his magazines, the Prince now resolved on the 4th September to besiege Rocroy, where, ten years before, he had gathered his first laurels, and where the proud *Tercios* he now commanded had first succumbed to the arms of an enemy. But on the very day the trenches were opened he fell ill of a quartan fever, of which the access became so violent that he was obliged to keep his bed; and he was forced to entrust the care of the siege to the Prince of Tarentum. The place was well defended, and the Governor made several sallies. Moreover there came on such a deluge of rain that the trenches were filled with water—nevertheless the place capitulated on the 22nd day. Condé was so proud of this acquisition, that he retained the government of it to himself, and here, his indisposition continuing, he remained for some time. The Princess, his wife, wrote to offer to join him at Rocroy, to tend him in his illness. And one might have thought that after all she had done and suffered for his interests, the noble wife might have expected to receive from her husband some proof of his respect, if not of love and regard; but, with the harshness that always characterized his conduct towards the heroic partner of his name, he ordered her to stay at Valenciennes, and

during the entire winter he never deigned to visit her. 1654.

Before the campaign of 1654 opened, Louis XIV. ordered the Parliament of Paris to try the Prince of Condé *par contumace;* and on the 28th March the decree of condemnation against him was proclaimed by sound of trumpet through all the towns of the kingdom. His Highness was declared "Convaincu des crimes de Lèse-Majesté et felonie, et, comme tel, déchu du nom de Bourbon, et condamné à recevoir la mort en la forme qui plairait au Roi." After having thus put the seal to the last trace of the "*Fronde*," the young King went, on the 7th June, to Rheims, where he was crowned with the accustomed ceremonies; and from the cathedral His Majesty proceeded on horseback to join his army. 1654. The Parliament of Paris condemns Condé, 28th March: Louis XIV. crowned at Rheims, 7th June.

The Archduke Leopold, as well as Fuensaldaña, for once were in accord with Condé, who, being now recovered, resolved, with his accustomed energy, to recapture Arras, and was seconded by the Castilian pride of his colleagues, who had deeply felt the loss of that fortress as a blot upon the arms of the monarchy. It was not, however, till the end of June that the Prince could get the Spanish army in motion. On the 14th July he invested the town; but not before the Royal army had thrown into the place about 1000 horse by several detachments, who cut their way through the investing army. The first care of the besiegers was to construct lines of circumvallation, twelve feet wide and ten feet deep; for Turenne had marched with his army near Péronne, on the 16th, in order to disturb the siege, and had advanced to the very ditch of the work with this object, having placed his head-quarters at Mouchin. Nevertheless the trenches were opened in due form. Condé left nothing undone to advance the works towards the place; so that Monsieur de Mondejeu, the Governor, seeing the hornwork of Guiche already in the hands of the enemy, sent messengers to apprise the Condé lays siege to Arras, 14th July.

1654. Maréchal of the danger impending over the place. Few of these messengers, however, got across the strong lines that protected the investment. A ridiculous story has been told of one unhappy man who had been made to swallow a despatch enveloped in a pill of lead; when, after all sorts of medicines were given the fellow to make him void the important despatch, and when all had failed, Monsieur de la Ferté declared that the man must be disembowelled in order to get possession of it. The wretched man on hearing this was suddenly seized with sickness, and, luckily for himself, relieved himself of the leaden ball.

Turenne obliges Condé to raise the siege, 24th Aug.

A portion of Turenne's army, which was besieging Stenay, soon became at liberty, for on the 6th August that place surrendered. Being now relieved from all distraction, the Maréchal resolved to make a great exertion to save Arras; and accordingly, on the 19th, he made a close reconnoisance of Condé's lines. At length, very early on the morning of the 24th, when the governor was reduced to his last barrel of powder, the troops of the Royal army were seen in motion. As soon as this was discovered, three gun-shots apprised the Spanish army of the coming danger, and the signal-fires burst into flame on every side of the intrenched camp. De la Ferté began the attack on the left; but, having led his men into the deep ditch, he could not induce them to mount the ramparts. The greatest confusion ensued, and the whole body fled out of the works, and took refuge behind the cavalry of the reserve. M. d'Hocquincourt, on the right, had not assembled his column to make the attack simultaneously, and had requested the Maréchal to delay the advance, to enable him to form his column of attack. But it was replied, that it was impossible to do this; for that the enemy was already alarmed, and that it was of the first importance to avail himself of the few moments of surprise remaining to him. Turenne ordered his central column, under

M. d'Edinvilliers, to carry forward four squadrons to an immediate attack; and James, Duke of York, who at this time served in the Royal army, was commanded to follow in support. The former was driven back by the fire and grenades of the defenders; but the English Prince persevered, and as the day broke he forced his way through a gap in the contravallation, and made his way along the banks of the Scarpe, which divided the quarter of Lorraine from that of Fernand-Solis. This likewise he crossed with his squadrons, and actually reached the tent of Prince Francis de Lorraine. The Duke of Buckingham urged the Duke of York to insult the owner of the quarter, who had made himself obnoxious by his tergiversations; but His Royal Highness rejected the advice, but could not restrain his men from dismounting and plundering the tent of all its valuables in plate and treasure. In the mean while Turenne had got together several regiments within the lines, with seven guns, which opened with such success, that the Spanish troops fled almost without any further struggle, leaving sixty-three guns, all the siege train and baggage, and many prisoners, behind them. 1654.

Condé's masterly retreat from Arras.

The French historians all assert that the Prince de Condé alone made any resistance; but none describe in what way he delayed the almost instantaneous discomfiture of the entire army. The words of Voltaire are, "Condé, avec deux regimens de Français et de Lorrains, soutint seul les efforts de l'armée de Turenne; et tandis que l'Archiduc fuyait, il battit le Maréchal d'Hocquincourt, il repoussa le Maréchal de la Ferté, et se retira victorieux en couvrant la retraite des Espagnols vaincus." Assertions such as these are merely calculated to gratify national vanity by the suggestion that the French rebel was the only man in the Spanish army who could do his duty. It is more to the purpose to observe that, in quality of Commander-in-Chief, he effectually rallied the fugitives,

1654. and carried the remainder of the army safe across the Scarpe. In this passage he was attacked, but covered the retreat from the town; when Condé resisted the attack, and safely reached Cambray. The Archduke and Fuensaldaña escaped capture with difficulty; but they at length reached Douay under an escort of a few squadrons. Monsieur de Marsin, who had charge of a post in the quarter of Lorraine, which D'Hocquincourt assailed, alone defended himself with resolution and success. Having infantry and carabineers, he resisted every assault, quitted the lines without even losing his order, and joined the Prince de Condé without any material loss.

The Spanish army recovered a great many of their fugitives during the time that they rested under the cannon of Mons, from whence they continually disturbed the foragers and out detachments of the Royal army while it rested in the vicinity of Binche. When at length Turenne broke up from thence, and moved to Bavay, on the 23rd September, Condé endeavoured to interrupt his movements; but the Maréchal's order of march was always so perfect, that he found it impossible to reap the slightest advantage. So that the King's forces completely scoured the French frontier, and both armies took up their winter quarters.

Condé's interview with Queen Christina.

During the repose of the winter of 1654, Condé found himself the admired hero of the strange fancy of Christina, Queen of Sweden, who, having abdicated her throne, made a journey to Brussels expressly to see him. Curiosity, or personal vanity, of which the Prince had an ample share, induced His Highness to slip quietly into the room of the Queen amidst a crowd of courtiers at the moment of her holding her court, and she recognized him at once from his resemblance to the pictures of him that she had seen. But Condé was so little captivated by the person and address of the ex-Queen, that he repelled her advances; and Her Majesty was so offended, that in a letter yet

extant from her, written from Brussels, she writes, "Here I find myself very well with every one excepting the Prince de Condé." 1655. —

The campaign of 1655 was almost entirely confined to the Province of Hainault. The Royal army succeeded in taking, one after the other, Landrecies, Condé, and St. Guillain. The Spanish army also became diminished by the defection of the entire force of the Duc de Lorraine, which passed over to the Royal army. On the other hand, Maréchal d'Hocquincourt treacherously offered to give up to the Prince the fortresses of Péronne and Ham, of which he was governor; but by the advice of Turenne, who discovered the plot, the false Maréchal was induced to give them up to the King for the sum of 200,000 crowns. The King and the Cardinal remained with the army of Turenne until the close of the campaign; and the Spanish army took up their winter quarters at Tournay, Ath, Mons, and Notre Dame de Halle. Condé, however, during this period got rid of his colleagues, the Archduke Leopold and Fuensaldaña; and Don John of Austria, a natural son of King Philip, a young man full of ardour and love of glory, and the Marquis de Caracena, a veteran grown grey in the service, took their places in the Spanish army.

Turenne takes Landrecies: Condé gets rid of Fuensaldaña and the Archduke Leopold.

Upon the arrival of the new commanders in June, 1656, they found the Maréchal Turenne had already invested Valenciennes, of which he was preparing to undertake the siege. The poor Princess de Condé had been already obliged to quit that fortress, and had gone to fix her abode at Malines; for her dissolute husband continued his harsh neglect and abandonment of his noble wife. Don Francisco de Menesses was the governor of Valenciennes, which was well fortified and garrisoned. The place, however, was just on the point of surrendering, when Condé resolved to make a great effort for its deliverance. The character of Maréchal de la Ferté, who commanded at this siege

1656. Condé compels Turenne to raise the siege of Valenciennes, 15th July: the Prince takes Condé, and Turenne captures La Capelle.

1656. under Turenne, of whom he was jealous, and whom he affected to despise, induced Condé to believe that he could avail himself of this man's incompetency to pay back the affront that his great friend and rival had put upon him at Arras. Having possession of the sluices of Bouchain, he let out the waters of the Scheldt in such a manner as to injure the communications of the divisions of the two French Maréchaux, who occupied the opposite banks of the enemy; and on the night of the 15th July he united himself with Don John, and fell upon La Ferté's division with such secrecy and vigour that he gained a complete victory. Turenne only learnt the success of the enterprise by the sounds of joy which came out of the city at daybreak, showing that they were relieved. The greater part of the corps d'armée of Maréchal de la Ferté, with nearly all his officers and more than 4000 soldiers, were captured. Turenne, with his usual calmness, and with the good discipline he always maintained, collected his troops, and took up a position near Quesnoy, where he preserved a firm countenance, and put his men under tents. And Condé, though he presented himself before the lines, did not dare to attack them; instead, therefore, of attempting any thing, he marched his army towards Condé, before which town he forthwith sat down.

This fortress had been considerably drained of munitions of war to aid the Maréchal in the siege of Valenciennes; but Monsieur de Passage had a garrison of 2500 men, and resolved to defend it, although he had not provisions for such a number for more than ten or twelve days. Its surrender was naturally a most gratifying trophy for the Prince, as it was the town from whence he took the name he bore. On the other hand, however, Turenne, on the 27th September, obtained possession of the little town of La Capelle, after four days' siege. The King and the Cardinal returned to Paris, and the French army withdrew within the

frontier about the beginning of November, when the campaign terminated. 1656.

The Cardinal came to Amiens, to meet the Vicomte, in the beginning of May, 1657, and it was agreed that the King should come to Montreuil, and that the army should sit down at once before Cambray. The Prince heard of this at La Bussière, on the Sambre, and resolved forthwith to march with an overwhelming force of cavalry, and thwart the Maréchal's object. It happened that on the same morning on which Turenne arrived before Cambray, Condé had arrived at Valenciennes; and the same night, at eleven o'clock, he marched straight into the citadel of Cambray with 3000 horse, but without a single foot-soldier. This bold step deranged all Turenne's plans, who at once broke up, and moved to St. Quentin, where the King arrived two days afterwards. Condé was received upon their knees by the governor and inhabitants of Cambray, who caused a gold medal to be struck on the occasion. 1657. Condé compels Turenne to raise the siege of Cambray, May.

The army of the King having sat down before Montmedi, Condé resolved upon an enterprise that seemed rather hopeless. He knew that while his adversary was attacking that fortress with one portion of his army, the rest had marched down towards Dunkirk to give the hand to an English army, which, under a recent treaty with Cromwell, was to be placed under the command of Turenne. The Prince therefore broke up from the neighbourhood of Mons on the 19th June, and passed the Sambre on the 22nd, as if he were intending to relieve Montmedi. This he knew would bring back the Maréchal to the place; and on the 26th the Spanish cavalry, under the command of the three chiefs, made a sudden turn, in order to march by the shortest road on Calais. This enterprise had been entrusted to the Prince de Ligne, who was to have marched from Gravelines at low tide; but he did not reach the walls in time, and found the Montmedi surrenders to the Royalists, 9th Aug.

1657. water was too high for him to pass, so that the whole design failed. Montmedi in the meantime made so gallant a defence, that it did not succumb till the 9th August, during all which time Turenne was forced to lie idle; and Condé apparently could only make some objectless marches round about: but when the place surrendered he had his army between the Sambre and Meuse, ready to act upon contingencies, and rather expecting that Rocroy would be the next object.

Turenne's successes in Flanders.

Turenne, however, had another plan, which was,—to carry off the army in quite a different direction. In a three days' march he carried it to St. Venant, which he had been informed was feebly garrisoned and ill provisioned, and might be made an easy conquest. But the Spanish army for once showed energy, and followed so quickly upon the King's army, that they reached St. Venant the third day after Turenne. A cavalry detachment of some 1200 horse, under the command of M. de Boutteville had the good fortune, in this march, to come across the baggage of the Maréchal's army near Lille, in a defile in which the head of the column was so advanced that it could not protect its rear; and accordingly it was plundered and scattered. St. Venant, however, did not make a long resistance, and its capture opened the passage of the Lys to Turenne, who now therefore commenced a regular occupation of Flanders. The walled town of Mardyk was the first conquest, and before the end of October Bourburg, upon the river Aa, an old fortress that had been dismantled, was made strong by forts and palisades, and by the aid of the "Munitionnaire Général," rendered a grand depôt for future operations against Dunkirk. Towards the end of November the King's army withdrew to Ruminghen, and the Spaniards put their soldiers into cantonments in the Netherlands.

The Queen Mother sends her physician

But the winter of 1657 exhibited a singular example of the caprices of fortune. The rebel Prince, who was in open arms against his Sovereign, fell sick at Brussels;

and the Queen Mother hastened to send him her celebrated physician Guénaud, in whom she had especial confidence, to re-establish his health before the next campaign. The cold-hearted husband submitted to be tended in his illness by mercenary attendants, while his noble wife, who was within call, was forbidden to approach the sick-bed of the man she had so magnanimously served. 1657. — to attend Condé in his illness.

At the commencement of the year 1658, Cromwell exacted from Mazarin that he should send orders for the siege of Dunkirk, which, according to the treaty he had entered into, was to be consigned into his hands; and he even threatened in the event of delay "to turn his arms against Calais." An English fleet appeared on the coast to support these pretensions, having on board six thousand soldiers. The King repaired to Amiens, where a part of the army was assembled. Turenne was at St. Venant, with 7000 or 8000 men. The Spanish chiefs remained at Brussels, under the conviction that no attempt could be made upon Dunkirk, which was now surrounded with inundations; and in their foolish confidence the place was left ill-garrisoned and ill-provided; they even neglected to complete the forts which they had commenced in the autumn before retiring into winter quarters. They were therefore taken by surprise when, about the end of May, they heard that Louis XIV., with the Queen and the Cardinal, had taken up their quarters at Mardyk, and that the Maréchal and his army had encamped upon the dunes between the sea and the Canal of Furnes. They immediately summoned a Council of War to deliberate on the means of saving the town. Condé recommended that a position should be taken up by the army where it would be impossible for Turenne to attack, and meanwhile to harass the enemy and cut off their supplies. Don John was for an attack. In vain the Prince urged that the French infantry was the most numerous and warlike, and that 1658. Siege of Dunkirk: negligence and obstinacy of the Spaniards, May.

1658. — Turenne was not a man before whom a fault might be committed with impunity. The Spanish Council prevailed, and the army, about 14,000 strong, marched down to the dunes along the coast on the 14th June, without waiting for their artillery, or considering the necessity of assisting their position by some intrenchments in the face of the French force of 22,000 men. Condé was the first to detect the preparations made by the French army for attacking them, and, turning to the young Duke of Gloucester, who happened to be at his elbow, said laughingly, "Vous n'avez pas vu une bataille; nous allons vous montrer dans une demi-heure comment on en perd une."

Preparations for the attack.

The Spanish army halted for the night with the right wing, under Don John, on the sea, and the Prince de Condé with the left resting on the canal. The intervening ground was partly sand-hills and partly meadow, intersected with ditches. Condé had brought up some flat-bottomed boats from Furnes, with which he constructed a bridge across the canal, while he threw planks over the gullets of the water meadow, to enable the soldiers to move about the more readily. He also threw up lines of intrenchments in the sand-hills, to unite himself with a high hill on which was placed a Spanish battalion. Turenne witnessed these works in progress in the course of the night with his own eyes, and immediately issued his order for the assembling of his forces for an attack in the morning. These numbered 8000 or 9000 foot, and 5000 or 6000 horse, ten battalions of French and six of English, with fifty-four squadrons of light cavalry, and four of gendarmes, while ten heavy guns were placed in position, to command the meadows on the enemy's left and the seashore on the right. Monsieur de Castelnau commanded the French right, and Maréchal de Schomberg the left, Monsieur de Richelieu the reserve. The English were under the command of General Lockhart, the Ambassador, with Morgan as Major-General. The Spanish

army had the Marquis de Caracena and Don Esterna de Gamarro, with the Dukes of York and Gloucester, who were serving under Don John of Austria; while De Coligni, De Boutteville, De Persan, De Guitant, and De la Suze acted with the Prince de Condé. 1658.

It should have been stated that, in the march to take up their position, the Spanish army was accompanied by the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt, who, with a new caprice, had quitted the King, and taken service with Spain; but now, while riding with the leaders in the front, took it into his head to make a charge against the French guard, in which he received a ball in the stomach which killed him on the spot; and in the same scuffle the Marquis of Blandford on the side of the Spaniards, and the Earl of Feversham on the other side, received severe wounds in the thigh. Defection and death of D'Hocquincourt.

The French marched to the attack in columns of seven battalions each, and each column was preceded by a forlorn hope—"Enfans perdus." Cavalry was interspersed between the columns; and some English frigates, approaching as near the shore as the tide would permit, kept up a sharp fire upon the Spanish position. Here stood the advanced sand-hill above spoken of, which was occupied by Don Gaspard Bonifacio, having on one flank Don Francisco de Menesey, and on the other Don Antonio de Cordova.

After five or six discharges from the guns, the English forces, led by Major-General Morgan, attacked this body; and so well were both the attack and defence sustained, that the two nations crossed pikes. But Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick rushed on the Spaniards at this moment with "un grand cri;" and, although he paid for his chivalry with his life, Bonifacio was driven from the height, after losing on the spot seven of the eleven captains that commanded companies. Don John and the Marquis de Caracena endeavoured in vain to rally their men, and ordered the Duke of York to go forward with the cavalry; but the sand was so deep, and the ground so uneven, that

1658. the English on the knoll were able to ply them with their muskets without receiving any damage whatever from their charge. The Guards, the Swiss, and the regiments of Picardy pushed forward with equal success against the Spanish battalions of Menesey, Cordova, and Guisland; but the latter regiments had no sooner fired their muskets than they turned to flight, and added to the confusion which resulted from the defeat of Bonifacio.

Repulse of Condé: his narrow escape.

The Prince de Condé, who saw the rout of the right wing, held his own left flank in hand until he was overwhelmed by the continued pressure of troops of both arms which were sent up against him, and the fire of the guns from both flanks, whose shot now fell thick around him. It is said that he meditated to open a passage for himself through Turenne's lines, and thus to relieve the town in the very midst of a lost battle. The expression is, "Peu s'en fallut qu'il ne perçât à travers l'armée française, et ne pénétrât jusqu'à Dunkerque[8]." But, if this were so, he was on the point of becoming prisoner to those who were already upon him, and just escaped with a horse killed under him; but Messieurs de Boutteville and Coligny devoted themselves to favour his retreat, and remained in the enemy's hands, while Monsieur de Meille was mortally wounded. The Prince, however, did not lose any great number of men, either cavalry or infantry; and he carried off safely those that remained, by marching along the banks of the canal.

Dunkirk surrenders,

Maréchal Turenne sent off M. de Pertius to carry

[8] Something of this sort occurred in the Peninsular War, when Colonel Michael Head, with all the dash and much of the thoughtlessness of Paddy-land, having surprised a park of the enemy's artillery, followed it up to the very bridge of Badajoz, which he crossed, and pursued it up to the gates of the town. He returned to report this achievement to Beresford, who said, "Well, Colonel, I suppose that, had the gates been open, you would have taken your whole regiment into Badajoz." To which, in perfect innocency, the gallant commander, not reflecting that they would be prisoners, replied, "That, Marshal, you may rely upon."

the news of the victory to the King, who was at Calais, where he had been seized with severe illness, which for a time retarded the progress of the siege. The Spanish Governor—the Marquis de Lède—however, had been wounded on the works, a few days after the battle, which seriously depressed the besieged. Don John was, nevertheless, still at the head of a considerable army, and not more distant than Nieuport. The chiefs of the defeated army, however, from some cause or other, determined to shut themselves up in the garrison towns. Don John repaired to Bruges, the Prince de Condé to Ostend, and the Prince de Ligne occupied Ypres, while the Duke of York and the Marquis de Caracena remained at Nieuport. The enemy's forces being separated, nothing appeared to prevent the Maréchal from continuing the siege of Dunkirk, and he immediately took possession of Dixmunde, to cut off the communication of the besieged with Ostend; when, on the 23rd June, the garrison entered into terms, and were marched away prisoners to Saint Omer, while the gates were delivered over to the English troops, who, in compliance with the treaty, took possession of the seaport. In the meanwhile the King's illness so much increased as to excite grave apprehensions for several days, so that the Maréchal put a stop to military proceedings. As soon as the King became convalescent, the Queen carried His Majesty back to Paris. But nothing now prevented the course of conquest open to Turenne, who captured town after town in the course of the autumn.

1658. and is delivered up to the English, 23rd June.

The Prince de Condé does not appear to have again taken the field with Don John, although he seems to have shifted his quarters from Tournai to Brussels in September. He may, or he may not, have become apprised of the intrigues that were going on at the Palace for the marriage of the young King[9]. Anne

Treaty of the Pyrenees: marriage of the King: Condé makes his peace with the Court, 7th Nov.

[9] Mazarin had had the art to render the King deeply enamoured of his niece Marie Mancini. Anne of Austria, with all her regard for the Cardinal, was indignant at such arrogant pre-

1659. of Austria had energetically exerted all her influence to bring about the Spanish match; so that at the commencement of 1659, before another campaign could commence, the preliminaries of peace were agreed upon. This produced a formal truce between the French and Spanish armies on the 3rd May. The plenipotentiaries, at the beginning of August, approached the frontier with all pomp, until they actually came to business in the little Ile des Faisans, in the middle of the Bidassoa. The conditions of the marriage with the infanta Maria Theresa, and the territorial cessions and compromises, did not occupy much time; but Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish Prime Minister, thought himself in honour bound to consider the interests of the Prince. The first proposal for the unconditional re-establishment of Condé in all his rank and employments was at once set aside by Mazarin; but when the wily Spaniard suggested that the King of Spain might make the Prince an independent Sovereign in Luxemburg, Sardinia, or Calabria, the Cardinal replied that such a recompense would only serve to become a monument of his rebellion to all posterity, to which the French King would never consent. At length De Haro is reported to have said, "As my master is not allowed to give an appanage to our friend, we must give up something to the Christian King to engage him to restore his favour to the first Prince of the Blood. For this object I offer Avesnes, and all its dependencies." This was a bribe sufficient to induce Louis XIV. to consent that the Prince de Condé should be reinstated in all his honours, in all his estates, and in the government of Burgundy; while, on the other hand, the Prince engaged to disband his troops, and to restore to the King all the strong places of which they held possession; also he engaged not to re-establish the defences of his

sumption, and is said to have retorted upon him with spirit and bitterness,—"Si le Roi était capable de cette indignité, je me mettrais, avec mon second fils, à la tête de toute la nation contre le Roi et contre vous."

fortified castles of Bellegarde and Montrond. The treaty of the Pyrenees was signed 7th November, 1659, and Condé hastened to return to France. 1659.

The Prince was accompanied out of Brussels by the Marquis de Caracena, and a respectful crowd of the inhabitants attended his departure. Travelling with his son, he made straight for the Château de Coulomiers, the house of his sister the Duchesse de Longueville. Thither, after two days' interval, the Princess de Condé followed him. Condé reached Aix on the 27th January, when the Cardinal came two leagues out of the town to meet His Highness, who, compelled now to dissemble resentment, embraced his former enemy, and entered his coach to repair to the Palace, where Louis XIV. with the Queen Mother, awaited his arrival. Condé threw himself on one knee before the King, and asked pardon of His Majesty for his past conduct. The King, holding himself very erect, replied coldly, "My cousin, after the great services you have rendered to my Crown, I shall never remember the error which has been hurtful only to yourself." It was some years since the Prince had seen Louis XIV., and he was sensible at this interview that henceforth he had a Sovereign, and no longer a wayward boy, for a master. He, however, assumed his place at the Court as if nothing had ever happened to affect it; but he soon found he was not yet quite restored to be "Prince du Sang," for he was not invited to assist at the marriage of the King, on the 9th June this year. 1660. Condé's reception at Court: retires into private life.

Having thus obtained forgiveness from Louis himself, Monsieur le Prince reassumed the government of Burgundy, which had been secured to him in the Treaty. For several years Condé now passed a tranquil life, which furnishes no materials for military history. His domestic concerns supply no matter of interest to the present generation, excepting that the conduct of the hero was, either from rivalry or disdain, or from more despicable causes, more and more

1666. unfriendly to the unhappy Clémence, his wife. In 1666, the gout attacked him with violence, and for the rest of his life this disease never quitted him.

1667. Death of the King of Spain: ambitious views of Louis XIV. His conquests in Flanders: capture of Lille: Triple Alliance, 23rd Jan., 1668.

In 1667 the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV., King of Spain, aroused in the King of France those ambitious views which became the characteristic of his future career. Louis XIV. pretended to the possession of the Netherlands by the succession of Maria Theresa his Queen. In the spring of 1667 he collected an army of nearly 50,000 men, of which he put himself at the head. He chose Turenne for the instrument of his expected success, while Condé was left at Chantilly to languish in inaction. All the favour he could obtain, was the permission for his son to serve in the army in the field under the King. The campaign was glorious. In six weeks the French were masters of Ath, Tournai, Douay, Armentières, and Oudenarde: and the *grand coup* of the capture of the important fortress of Lille, on the 27th August, after only eight days of open trenches, placed a solid bulwark to the annexation of Walloon Flanders to France, which she still maintains. Europe, however, awoke to life at the sight of a kingdom like France thus extending her borders; and the treaty of the Triple Alliance was formed with the view of checking this extension, on the 23rd January, 1668.

Louis XIV. lays siege to Dôle, which surrenders, 11th Feb. Franche Comté reduced by Condé.

There never was a moment in history when ambition had so many plots hatching for almost every other purpose than the general good. France and the Empire were intriguing to dispose of the inheritance of the King of Spain, a sickly child. England and Holland put aside their private grievances, and united with Sweden to counteract this project. While in France, statesmen, jealous of the just reputation of Turenne, sought to revive the military ambition of Condé, who was not himself indisposed to advance himself; and he organized a plot with the King, which now suddenly and unexpectedly exploded. Without any one suspecting the object, Louis

XIV., having the young Duc d'Enghien in attendance, quitted St. Germain, on horseback, on the 2nd February, and by great strides reached Dijon, where an army of 20,000 men had been secretly assembled, with Condé at their head, and his friend Boutteville as Lieutenant-General. Not a moment was to be lost. Besançon was summoned to receive the King, but claimed to be respected by the French army as having the character of "Ville Impériale." The reply was concise and absolute, —"The keys of the town, or an assault." It yielded its privileges under such a "Hobson's choice," and opened its gates on the 5th, on the sole condition that the sacred relic of St. Suaire should be respected, which was readily conceded to them by the Most Christian King. Salins surrendered to the Duke of Luxemburg the same day. Dôle, where the Parliament of Franche Comté was sitting, showed a disposition to make resistance; and the King, who revelled in a siege, determined to sit down before the place in person. It was esteemed strong, but had only a garrison of 400 soldiers, under the Count de Montrevel, a high-souled Spaniard, of fidelity and courage. The Royal army was accompanied by so many young volunteers who were desirous of attracting the notice and favour of Louis XIV. that, disregarding any correct discipline, or awaiting the slow advance of trenches, they rushed up the glacis, sword in hand, and established themselves on the counterscarp. Condé, who appreciated this juvenile bounding bravery, in which his son was a participator, gave this proceeding the benefit of his countenance, and, what was of more value, of substantial support. The young Count de Grammont had even the audacity to parley with the defenders of the gate, and so combined the arts of pleasing and alarming, that Dôle, after only four days' siege, opened its portals to the French army on the 11th February. The Spanish Government was indignant at the feeble resistance of its ancient province, and wrote to the 1668.

1668. authorities "that the King of France might have sent his lackeys to take possession of such a country, instead of condescending to go down in his Royal person." In less than three weeks the whole of Franche Comté had succumbed to the arms of the Prince de Condé.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 2nd May.

All Europe was in amazement at this bold and successful usurpation. Spain was indignant. The Emperor assembled his army. The little free States of Switzerland trembled for their liberties at the sight of France approaching so near their frontiers. But the English and Dutch not only awoke to the danger, but roused their energies to avert it. Sir William Temple and John de Witt united with the Swedish Ambassador the Count de Dhona; and although Louis XIV. was indignant at being checked in his martial career by what he deemed in his arrogance such second-rate Powers, he was persuaded by his Minister of Finance, Colbert, and his great Maréchal, Turenne, to listen to the suggestions of prudence, and to offer peace. He proposed to these governments to send plenipotentiaries to Aix-la-Chapelle, and invited the Pope to send a Nuncio to preside at the conference which assembled and concluded the Treaty bearing the name of that city, on the 2nd May, by which the French King was to retain all his conquests in the Low Countries, but to restore Franche Comté to Spain.

Condé is candidate for the Crown of Poland: but Louis XIV. objects to this.

In September this year John Casimir, King of Poland, resigned his Crown; and amongst other candidates named to replace him was the Prince de Condé. It was thought that his party in the Diet might have prevailed; but Louis XIV. had higher aspirations than an extension of empire towards the North of Europe, and frankly said to Condé, "My cousin, think no more of the Crown of Poland. The interest of my kingdom is concerned in it."

Gourville's account of

Condé had other troubles than mortified ambition to endure at this period of his life. He was sunk to

his very neck in debts, which were said to have amounted to more than nine millions of livres. He fortunately found a capable and faithful intendant in one Gourville, who got his finances into complete order, and who has left his own Memoirs, recording the extent of his energetic service in this matter. Let us hear his own account of it:—"The Prince often found himself encumbered by a great number of creditors in his ante-chamber when he wished to go out. He usually leaned upon two persons, not being able to walk alone; and, passing through the crowd of creditors as quickly as possible, used to tell them that he would give orders that they should be paid. He did me the honour to tell me afterwards that one of the things that had given him the greatest pleasure in this world was, when he pronounced some time after I had the direction of his affairs, that he found no more creditors in the ante-room." Of course these services raised enemies against poor Gourville, who endeavoured to ruin him in the estimation of the Prince, telling him that his servant absolutely governed him. "If the fact be so," replied His Highness, "it must be acknowledged that he governs me well." 1668. Condé's pecuniary embarrassments.

But the blackest shade upon our hero's life, is that which is cast upon it by his unfeeling treatment of the unhappy partner of his bed, from whom he was always seeking a favourable opportunity for separating himself. A terrible adventure, calculated most unjustly to compromise poor Clémence de Maillé, occurred at this period of our story, which is thus related in the Memoirs of Mademoiselle. "A young man, to whom she had showed her bounty by some largesses, one day entered her chamber, and with so much pertinacity as though he would forcibly make good his demand. The controversy brought a page to her assistance, and the two men drew swords upon each other. The Princess, in her desire to separate them, received a sword cut, and, in the noise and confusion of the encounter, both the Condé's unmanly treatment of his excellent wife.

1671. combatants escaped. On the scandal that arose at the Court at this strange occurrence, the Prince sent his wife a prisoner to Chateauroux, one of his houses, and obtained a lettre de cachet from the King to prevent her from ever leaving it; and here in fact she died, in April, 1694, having never left her prison for twenty-three years, and having survived her husband eight of them.

Condé entertains Louis XIV. at Chantilly.

In the same year, and only a few weeks after the Princess had been carried away from Chantilly, her cold, heartless husband received Louis XIV. at this grand mansion with becoming state; on which occasion it was that the well-known incident recorded by Madame de Sevigné occurred. Vatel, the King's head cook, destroyed himself by running upon his sword, because the sea-fish was wanting at His Majesty's table.

1672. The Prince of Orange: Louis XIV. leaves St. Germain for Holland, 28th April: Condé takes Wesel, 7th June, is wounded, and retires to Chantilly.

At this juncture Providence raised up a youth of twenty-two years, a scion of the illustrious house of Orange, who, like David, may be described as "a mere stripling," with no better arms than a sling and a stone to oppose the madly ambitious career of Louis XIV. The troops confided to his command were neither numerous nor well trained. His power was limited; for though elected to a species of Dictatorship by the Dutch people, the Grand Pensionary, De Witt, held the purse-strings and exercised an extensive influence. Louis XIV. quitted St. Germain on the 28th April, 1672, and designed to open the campaign on the Meuse. By the advice of Turenne, Maestricht, the place d'armes of the Dutch, was invested and passed by, and the army sat down to besiege Wesel, Büderich, Rheinberg, and Orsoi, at one and the same time. To Condé was assigned the first-named, which he carried in three days, on the 7th June. The great obstacle was to pass the Rhine, which on the Dutch frontier divides itself into three considerable branches. The Prince of Orange believed that portion of the river called the Waal to be impassable from

its depth and width; but he had raised considerable intrenchments to oppose the passage of the Yssel, another portion which was neither deep nor broad. The third, or main branch of the great river, was broken by an island; and Turenne selected this place for the passage of the French army. This *essai d'armes* was in these days of vaunting spoken of as a grand manœuvre; but it was feebly opposed, and deserves no more credit than that it was successful. Here the young Duc de Longueville, nephew of Condé, was killed, and Monsieur le Prince himself was wounded in the wrist, the only hurt he had ever sustained; but, though not dangerous, he suffered so much from the pain of it, that he was obliged to quit the army and retire to Chantilly. 1672.

Louis quits the army, 26th July: the Prince of Orange is made Stadtholder.

The Dutch, in their desperation, encountered the French armies by letting in the sea upon their country; and Louis XIV., as soon as he recognized the impossibility of marching his army to its conquest, quitted it on the 26th July; and thus time was afforded to this self-devoted nation to defend itself. The Prince of Orange was at once appointed Stadtholder of the whole United Provinces, and he called to his aid the great Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, and the Emperor, who sent down an army, under Montecuculi, to oppose the invader.

1673.

Condé again takes the command: sanguinary and undecisive action at Senef: Condé's reception at Versailles.

For the campaign of 1673, Louis XIV. set on foot three armies, and gave the command of one of them to the Prince de Condé, to confront the Dutch under their new Stadtholder. He made a dash to pierce the frontier and overcome the defence of inundations; but, not succeeding in this, he set himself down before some unimportant fortress, which was but a petty instalment of glory for the conqueror of Rocroy. During this campaign his task was simply to keep watch upon an enemy whom he could not rouse to action, and to give counsel that was never accepted nor followed; so that his spirits and his health gave way. But in 1673

1673. Louvois, who was no friend to Turenne, allotted the larger force of 45,000 men to Condé, to oppose William of Orange in the neighbourhood of Charleroy. The Stadtholder combined a fine army of Dutch and Spanish, counting nearly 60,000 men; but it was already July before any campaign commenced; for Condé could not attempt the offensive with his inferior numbers; and he held a strong position in his camp at Réton, which yielded him something like an equality with his adversary. His policy was therefore to sit still. William, however, resolved to draw him down from his position, by moving towards Senef. With extraordinary negligence, the Prince of Orange marched, in all the confidence of superior strength, in a careless and straggling march, in which he exposed his flank to the enemy. The fault was not likely to be overlooked by the greater experience and eagle glance of Condé. It was the 11th August when, mounting his horse, he led the household cavalry of France, and fell upon the village of Senef, in which rested the combined infantry and cavalry of the Spaniards. In a very few moments these were forced to fly from the village; but having joined themselves to another division of the combined army near St. Nicholas-au-Bois, the Comte de Monetery made a stubborn resistance, which induced Condé to order the Chevalier de Fourilles, the famous cavalry organizer, to lead a reinforcement to the spot. It is said that this officer called the attention of the Prince to the amount of bloodshed that would attend the attempt to carry the position; whereupon Condé replied, "It is obedience I demand of you now, and not advice." The brave Fourilles, stung by this reproach, dashed forward, and in an instant received a mortal wound. William of Orange, aroused by the onslaught, disputed the ground by inches; and both leaders endeavoured to repair faults by prodigality of bloodshed, while both shared in the fight like athletes. Condé had three horses killed under him, and William lost

several; nor did the strife end till after the moon had risen. It was not till after having been seventeen hours on horseback, that Condé regained his camp; and 27,000 corpses are said to have been left on the field of battle. Neither army retained possession of the field; so that neither of the illustrious chiefs could claim a victory, and no consequence of note resulted from the battle. Louis XIV. was not pleased at the lavish waste of the blood of his soldiers at Senef; nevertheless His Majesty gave the Prince a reception full of kindness and grace, for His Majesty went to meet him as far as the great staircase of Versailles. Condé, who had nearly lost the use of his legs from gout, and from the effect of the violence of a fall from one of the horses he rode at the battle, was ascending the stairs very slowly, when, seeing the King, he exclaimed, "I crave your Majesty's pardon if I keep you waiting." "My cousin," replied Louis, "do not hurry yourself; when one is so laden with laurels, one cannot walk fast!" 1673.

Condé again resumed the command of the army under Louis in Flanders. The towns of Huy and Dinant, which had been besieged and taken from the French in the last campaign, were recaptured by the Maréchal de Crequi, on the 19th May; and Limburg, a strong fortress and better defended, succumbed under the attack of Vauban on the 20th June; after which, on the 17th July, the King quitted the army and returned to Versailles. Soon after this an event occurred which placed France in mourning, and affected all her policy,—the death of Turenne on the 27th. The immediate consequence of the great Maréchal's death was a dispute as to who had the right to succeed to the command of the army in Alsace; which the King at once settled by ordering the Prince de Condé to undertake the charge of it. He pleaded the increasing infirmities of his health; but nevertheless obeyed. The plans of the great leader, however, had perished with him, and his rival and friend "exprima son regret de ne pouvoir

De Crequi's successes in Flanders: Limburg is taken by Vauban, 20th June: death of Turenne, 27th.

1675. causer seulement deux heures avec l'ombre de Monsieur de Turenne." Neither his adversary nor Condé could resume the thread of those famous manœuvres that had immortalized his lost genius; and after a futile campaign the armies of both leaders took up their winter quarters at the beginning of November.

Condé retires to Chantilly: his encouragement of men of letters: his death, 11th Dec., 1686.

It was here that Monsieur le Prince terminated his military career. He could have wished to have given his command to his son; and offered to assist him with his counsel. But Louis XIV. would have no decrepid generals; nor did he put faith in a reversion of genius. Condé withdrew to Chantilly, where he repaired the severity of his attacks of violent gout by the society of men of letters, whose intercourse he both loved and cultivated. He was indeed quite equal to the converse of such a circle, by his own knowledge of the Arts and Sciences. Racine, Boileau, Corneille, Molière, Pascal, La Fontaine, Bossuet, and Bourdeloue, were often his guests in his retirement, and gilded the decline of life, which terminated at Fontainebleau on the 11th December, 1686. But although he had only lived three-score years, he exhibited in the few last years of his existence the same "tears of dotage" that are recorded of the great Marlborough. Voltaire remarks, "Il ne resta rien du grand Condé les deux dernières années de sa vie." It is fair to say, that other authorities are quoted to the effect, "that he preserved his senses to the last."

Condé's military character.

It is difficult to question the military reputation of Condé without offending a great and gallant nation, who never mention his name without the prefix of "Grand." As to the use of that epithet, it has been so capriciously ascribed to heroes, that it is not worth while to quarrel about it. But no just exception can be made if one who assumes to write an impartial biography hesitates to concur in the French estimate of a warrior who does not appear to have evinced any great ability in strategy or tactics, nor to have in-

vented or improved either the art or the implements of war. Let us take a short review of his battles. Beginning with Rocroy, we find a daring young man, in the full blaze of native fire and ardent spirits. While in command of a considerable army, this rash and inexperienced young man places himself at the head of a body of horse, and actually passes to the rear of the enemy's army from one flank to the other. It is true that the consequence of this charge was utterly to break up the Spanish *Tercios*, which had been till then the dread of Europe. But this unwieldy formation was already out of date, and it was no act of generalship that destroyed them. Very nearly a similar account may be given of his next so-called victory,—"The three days of Freiburg." Here Condé, with an amount of presumption that would have been highly blamed in any other than a young Prince, acted in direct opposition to the experience of Turenne, and gained a very doubtful victory by perseverance in slaughter, rather than by any military skill. At the Battle of Allersheim, Condé again acted in opposition to Turenne's advice, and only obtained a barren victory at such a cost of blood that the Queen Regent was forbidden to rejoice at it. In all these three battles there was the same young man's road to glory —daring, dash, and perseverance in bloodshed; and nothing of importance was obtained without a fearful sacrifice of human life. 1686.

The Battle of Lens[1] first shows the Prince de Condé as an efficient leader of an army; and here a very complicated action required as much genius as bravery, both of which were conspicuous in the conflict. But even here there was little evidence of the higher

[1] The term "petits maîtres" is said to have been first applied in ridicule to the followers of the Prince, when returning to Paris after this victory; flushed with the *renommée* they had obtained, they gave themselves such insolent airs as to be quite intolerable.

1686. military characteristics. Nor indeed when he was opposed to Turenne, did he ever shine with any success; but then it was said he fought with the Spaniards against the French. His latest campaigns—the seizure of Franche Comté, and the two or three campaigns in Flanders, including even the Battle of Senef, were all creditable enough; but none of the incidents were such as to raise him to that transcendental height to which his countrymen love to exalt him. Let it, however, be recorded to his high honour, that by his last will the Prince bequeathed 50,000 crowns to be distributed in those districts in which, during his wars, he had been the cause of the greatest havoc and personal misery. This was a noble tribute from an old soldier, and evidences to the world that none can so well appreciate the sufferings of war as those who have shared in and witnessed them.

Condé's personal characteristics.

In person, Condé had an agreeable expression, a noble air, and a very fine head. His eyes, though blue, were full of vivacity; and his nose so arched and aquiline, that, as has been said of many countenances in which the nose predominates, it had the resemblance of an eagle's. There was an expression about the mouth that was faulty; for it was large, and the teeth were disagreeably prominent. His personal bearing is reputed to have been stern and haughty [2].

[2] "Life of the Great Condé," by L. J., Prince of Condé; Bussy Rabutin—"Mémoires de Retz;" Histories of France; Lord Stanhope's "Life of Condé;" and Biographical Dictionaries, *passim*.

KING CHARLES THE FIRST,

OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Born 1600. Died 1649.

1642. — His early military training.

It is not here intended to write a biography of King Charles, further than as his life was connected with his service in the field of battle. It is not necessary to notice his birth and parentage, his youth, or even his civil career, but simply to recount his campaigns. Scarcely any other leader saw such long-continued and severe service:—no general probably commanded an army oftener before the enemy; and few had more generals serving under him with varied success. I shall not question the right or the wrong of this King to raise his standard of defiance, or to bring a dispute respecting government to the arbitrament of gunpowder. The questions at issue did not arise, as almost all similar state disputes had theretofore arisen, from legitimacy or illegitimacy of birth and succession,

1642. or breach of trust; but touching a matter entirely new to the world—the respective powers and their limits in the governor and governed. Divine right could not define this question;—Jurists were at fault upon it;—the tangled puzzle could be unwound by the sword alone: and it is the history of this war that will here constitute the biography of Charles I.

Adverse circumstances under which Charles commenced the great civil war.

Never did any Prince begin a war against the whole strength of his kingdom under such circumstances as those under which Charles commenced the great civil war. He had not a garrison nor a company of soldiers in his pay—not a stand of arms, nor a barrel of powder, musket, cannon, or mortar; he had not one ship of war; and what was worse, he had no money, nor any legally acquired power to procure any: the Parliament had all his navy, ordnance, stores, and magazines. It is strange, and a sad instance of the distraction of the King's affairs, that, as he must have long seen to what extremity all things tended, he should not have had the sagacity and moral courage to have secured in the hands of trusty servants those magazines and stores of war that might have been preserved for his use until he might need them[1]. With undeniable and impartial truth this may very justly be called "an unpolitic honesty:" —He thought that he was in the right, and he was content to adhere, as long as he could, to his duty, even though against his own interests. It certainly was a very grievous indiscretion in a man of ordinary sense to commence a quarrel with a bigoted and obstinate people like the Scots, for a ceremony and Book of Discipline, which embroiled him with his Parliament in England, in order to get money; until, being beggared and beaten in one kingdom, he got embroiled with his subjects in another, until those whose advice first led him into trouble betrayed him. In an evil hour he

[1] Defoe.

repaired to the House of Commons in person to seize some refractory members;—a proceeding that alarmed the whole gentry of England, and excited heats under which the flame of civil war was kindled; and after some time spent in fruitless altercations between the King and the Parliament, Charles erected the Royal Standard at Nottingham on the 25th August, 1642. It was about six o'clock in the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day that His Majesty, with a very small train, rode to the top of the Castle hill, attended by Sir Edmund Verney, the King's Knight Marshal and Standard-bearer, who erected the standard on that place with little other ceremony than the sound of some miserable drums and trumpets. There was not a single regiment organized to guard it; it was protected only by Sir John Digby, the Sheriff of the County, with about 300 of the trained bands. The standard was blown down the same night by a violent tempest, which was an evil presage to the minds of many people. 1642.

The same day the King published a "Declaration," and he also drew up a "Proclamation," which he directed a herald to read, declaring the ground and cause of this warlike solemnity, and calling upon all men to repair to the standard, as to his own Royal person. But it is related that when the herald was about to begin his task some scruple seemed to cross Charles's mind, and, calling for pen and ink, he read it over again as he sat in the saddle, and made several verbal alterations; and then returned it to be read. Then the herald, puzzled with the writing, boggled over the corrections made by His Majesty. The standard was a large blood-red ensign, bearing the Royal arms, and having a hand portrayed pointing to the crown, with the motto, "Render unto Cæsar his due." In order to give greater significance to the act, it was repeated the following day. The King, the Prince of Wales, Prince Rupert, Sir Thomas Brooks, Sir Arthur The King's Declaration and Proclamation: Aug. 25.

1642. Hopton, Sir Francis Wortley, Sir Robert Daddington, and many other lords and gentlemen, mounted or on foot, from the surrounding country, indulging a laudable curiosity in the conduct of an ancient ceremony, never before witnessed in the memory of the oldest of them.

Charles collects his forces for the conflict.

Having taken his resolution, the King exerted himself with some activity to get a force together. Despatches were sent to the Marquis of Worcester in Wales, one to the Marquis of Newcastle in the North, and one into Scotland. The Queen had already repaired to France to see what assistance could be rendered to the Royal cause by her Royal relations, and to endeavour to raise money there to purchase arms. In a very short time Her Majesty so bestirred herself, that a fine train of artillery, and some good officers with arms and ammunition, safely joined the King; and the Queen herself speedily followed them and joined the army of the Marquis of Newcastle in the North. The King forthwith marched to Shrewsbury, where he was received with the acclamations of the people, while a concourse of nobility and gentry flocked to his standard. His Majesty, seeing this general alacrity for the Royal cause, issued out commissions to organize regiments of horse and foot; and was now joined by some field-pieces and by some experienced officers from France: so that his retainers began to look like soldiers. Such was the energy of the King at this period that, notwithstanding the wonderful expedition used by the Parliament, he was in the field before them; and the spirit thus given to the Royal cause induced the gentry in many places to bestir themselves, and to seize upon and garrison several considerable places for the King. The Marquis of Newcastle obtained possession of the entire North excepting Hull: and Cornwall, and most of the western counties, declared for the Royal cause under Lord Hopton. The Parliament still held what were termed "the associated counties," which were nearest to the

metropolis, where their main support lay. The King had a personal escort of a Royal troop of young gentlemen, of whom thirty-two were lords, and thirty-eight younger sons of the nobility. He established his principal camp or base with his court at Oxford, which he caused to be regularly fortified, establishing posts at Abingdon, Wallingford, Basing, and Reading, as outworks of the principal intrenchment. The war gradually spread into every corner of the country, and all were in breathless suspense as to where the first blow would be struck. 1642.

The strength of his army contrasted with that of the Parliament.

On the 8th or 12th October, 1642, King Charles took the initiative, and issued his orders for the Royal army to march. It consisted of 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse; the latter under the command of Prince Rupert. This force was little, if at all, inferior in numbers to that commanded for the Parliament by the Earl of Essex. Quitting Shrewsbury, the King marched by Bridgnorth, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth, and reached Southam on the 21st. The Earl of Essex had quitted London to assume the command of the Parliamentary army on the 9th September, and proceeded to Northampton, whence he had advanced to Worcester, leaving garrisons by the way at Coventry and Warwick. On the 23rd Prince Rupert, who had been sent by the King to escort Sir John Byron, who was on his way from Oxford with a small detachment conveying money and plate for the King, first encountered some Parliamentarians, under Colonel Sandys, in a narrow lane, on the road to Ludlow, and entirely routed the whole detachment and mortally wounded the commander. This was the first blood drawn in the great quarrel. Essex pushed on some outposts to Hereford, and towards Shrewsbury, but does not appear to have heard that the King was in march till the 19th, when he found the Royal army to be actually nearer London than himself. He instantly quitted Worcester, and leaving his artillery, ammunition, and

The first encounter, Sept. 23. Battle of Edgehill, Oct. 23.

1642. baggage, to follow under a guard, he pushed on and reached Keinton on the 22nd, on which day the Royal army had advanced from Southam to Edgecote. About noon of the 23rd the two armies came in sight of each other. The King, finding it difficult to pursue his design upon London while the enemy was so near him, resolved to give battle, and to that end drew up his force upon Edgehill, from whence he could see the plain on which the Parliamentary army stood, drawn up in three lines. Three regiments of horse, with what guns they had, covered the right flank under Sir William Balfour: twenty-four troops of horse, under Sir James Ramsay, protected the left. Essex, on foot, and with a soldier's pike in his hand, commanded the entire infantry, which formed the centre. The Earl of Lindsay commanded the King's centre, which likewise consisted of all the infantry, having Sir Jacob Ashley as Major-General under him[2]; Prince Rupert with his cavalry was on the right wing, and Lord Wilmot with the rest of the horse was on the left. Lord Byron commanded a reserve on this flank. The battle began with a cannonade on both sides: the King giving the order to his General in the centre. He himself also gave the signal of attack by ordering Prince Rupert to advance, which he did with such impetuosity, that not only did Ramsay with his entire force take to flight, but Sir Faithful Fortescue with his troop of horse availed himself of the confusion to pass over to the Royal side. Rupert pursued beyond Keinton, where he permitted his men to stop for plunder, and so lost a most precious hour of the day. In the mean time the infantry in the

[2] An anecdote, well known to most military men, is given of Sir Jacob Ashley by Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs. The writer relates that before the charge at Edgehill Sir Jacob made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer; for he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Lord, Thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me." And with that he rose up, crying out, "March on, boys."

centre got into such close conflict, that Lord Lindsay here received his death wound; and the King, with his sons, were nearly made prisoners; for Sir William Balfour, not having been properly watched by Lord Wilmot, made so skilful a movement round the Royalist left flank, that he broke through the first line, and staggered the second. It has been stated, however, that Wilmot had made as successful an onset as did Rupert; but that he had fallen upon ground very much intersected with hedges and ditches, that were lined with musketeers. Sir Arthur Aston, however, with great courage and dexterity, passed with little loss by these obstacles, and followed the horse of the right wing in their chase of the Parliamentarians as furiously as the others. The reserve, seeing the cavalry of both wings in pursuit, joined in the chase, and thus the King was left unprotected, and was in danger of meeting the same fate which befell his predecessor Henry III. at the battle of Lewes, when his son, having routed the Barons, followed them too far, and "the King unexpectedly found himself exposed to direct assault when deprived of the greater part of the forces on which he had depended for support, for one wing of his army had become entangled beyond the enemy's lines, out of reach of immediate recall, and the other was flying all over the country[3]." The Stuart, like the Plantagenet monarch, although neither of them had ever shown any capacity for war, evinced personal courage and resolution when danger in the battle excited him into activity. Sir William Balfour, marching towards the Royalist infantry, and pretending to be friends, observed how all the horse were gone, and at once broke in upon them, when he again very nearly captured the King and both his sons, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York. It was now that the Earl of Lindsay, to protect His Majesty, threw himself into the midst, and 1642.

[3] Blaauw's "Barons' War."

1642. — received a mortal wound in the thigh; and his son, the Lord Willoughby, piously endeavouring to save his father, was taken prisoner with him. Sir Edmund Verney, the King's standard-bearer, was struck down dead, and the standard was captured, but was recovered by an officer of Lord Grandison's regiment. The King was advised to quit the field, but rejected the pusillanimous counsel with his native kingly spirit. His Majesty ordered the guns to be opened; and a brisk cannonade ensued, which the Parliamentarians could not return, for all their cannons had been nailed, and their cannoniers were killed or had fled.

Estimate of the loss on both sides.

It was at this juncture that Prince Rupert returned, and the King asked His Highness what account he could give of the enemy's horse; to which it was replied, that they are all broken—"Ay," says one of the bystanders, "and their carts are broken too"—meaning that the whole affair had been lost, owing to the plunder. Rupert, who was by nature choleric, was exceedingly provoked, and began to talk, as was his custom, without any self-control. Night coming on ended all further discourse of fighting, and the King drew off, and marched towards the hills. The Parliament accordingly claimed the victory; but neither side had much to boast of. The Parliamentarian loss was greater in numbers than that of the Royalists, the former having lost nearly 6000, and the latter about 2500, these also carried away 500 horse prisoners, with 18 standards and colours, and 5 ammunition-carts full of powder; so that if Essex had the honour of the field, the King had the fruits of victory; for all the country round about submitted to him, and the Parliamentarians made the best of their way to London. The King, however, gave up all idea of marching on the capital, and contented himself with marching on Oxford; but, on reaching Maidenhead, proposals for peace reached him, and he halted at Brentford, within seven miles of London, these having first driven the Parliamentarian forces out of the town.

This incident at the time that proposals for an accommodation had been agreed upon, raised such an outcry and prejudice in the Parliament against the King, that Essex was ordered to halt his army in order to resist the further advance of the Royalists. But this change of circumstances changed the terms of peace; and Charles, offended, marched back to Oxford, where he took up his quarters for the entire winter, 1642-3. This season was passed in fruitless treaties for peace; messages, remonstrances, and a paper war ensued on both sides, which continued till the middle of April, when hostilities recommenced. In the mean while the places that still remained to the King were strengthened, and their defence organized. The Marquis of Newcastle, reinforced by the men and supplies brought over from the Continent by the Queen (as has been already noted), and being now in greater strength than his opponent Fairfax, made him give ground, and retreat to Hull, while the Royalist army drew down to York. Many dashing affairs, in which Rupert delighted, kept the war alive during the winter. In February he surprised the enemy at Cirencester, and took 1200 prisoners and a magazine with about 120 barrels of gunpowder. But a more important affair was that in which he carried by storm the town of Birmingham, in which was established an important military post, as it was desirable to keep open the communication between Oxford and York.

1642-3. Charles winters at Oxford: recommencement of hostilities, April 15. Rupert takes Birmingham.

The campaign of 1643 was now about to open. Essex appeared before Reading on the 17th April, with an army that was increased to 16,000 foot and 3000 horse. Sir Arthur Aston commanded in this town for the King, with a garrison of 4000 excellent troops; and the King had resolved to advance his army to drive away the enemy, not with the view of retaining Reading, but of carrying away the garrison. In the first days of the siege, however, the Governor received a dangerous wound in the head, which so entirely incapa-

Essex lays siege to Reading, which surrenders. Battle of Chalgrove Field—death of Hampden.

1643. — citated him for further command, that this devolved on Colonel Richard Fielding. The King sent to recall Prince Rupert from Birmingham; but His Highness, impatient for work, had gone on to get possession of Lichfield; and, while His Majesty was delayed in the village of Nettlebed, awaiting his arrival, Fielding managed to get out of Reading in the night and to reach the Royal quarters, when he represented that neither could he hold the place, nor was the Royal army strong enough to raise the siege; but that if the King consented to his surrendering it, he thought he could obtain good terms. The transaction, as it is reported, is very mysterious. An assault is said by some to have been made on the place under the direction of Hampden, during which Fielding discovered that the inhabitants were very ill-affected to the Royal cause; and, that when in the struggle the assailants were worsted, and driven back, the Governor demanded a parley, and gave up the place on the sole condition of marching out with arms, bag, and baggage. The King, sore displeased at the haste with which Reading was surrendered, ordered Fielding to be tried by martial law, and he was sentenced to lose his head; but the sentence, after considerable intercession, was remitted. This was the first town lost to the King in the war, and the affair very much unsettled the state of public opinion in Oxford, whither the Royal army now fell back, followed by Essex. But the Parliamentarian general, for some reason or other, retreated again to Reading, where he lay inactive for six weeks. At length, on the urgent representations of the Houses, Essex advanced as far as Thame; but here his quarters were beaten up by Prince Rupert, and the famous affair at Chalgrove Field ensued, in which John Hampden was slain, and the Parliamentary army, disconcerted at the loss of this famous patriot, again removed into cantonments about St. Albans and Uxbridge. This relieved the King of a troublesome neighbour to

Oxford; and Rupert was sent away on the 25th July, to undertake the siege of Bristol. 1643.

Review of the King's circumstances and prospects. He lays siege to Gloucester, August 10.

The King's affairs were at this time in a very good posture. He had three armies roving at large over the kingdom, counting altogether as many as 70,000 men. That in the West defeated Waller with his Parliamentarian army, at Roundaway Down. Bristol surrendered to Prince Rupert. The Earl of Carnarvon subdued Portland and Weymouth; and the King was entirely master of all Wales, and of the entire fertile valley of the Severn, except Gloucester. He accordingly concerted a meeting with the Queen, who was ready to march to join him with a well-appointed force of 2000 foot and 1000 horse, with 8 guns; and this meeting was successfully effected on the 15th July, on the very ground near Keinton, where the battle of Edgehill had been fought the year before. They immediately marched to muster their forces at Bristol, where a gallant army was collected of 28,000 men, whereof 11,000 were horse, the noblest body of gentlemen that were ever drawn together in this war; their horses beyond all comparison, and their equipages the finest, and such as Englishmen could alone supply before all the rest of the world, as well then as at any other period of history. It was resolved, after much consultation, to lay siege to Gloucester, which was the only garrisoned town remaining to the Parliament in those parts. The King had earnestly wished to march direct on London, to encourage his friends and loyal subjects in the capital; but it was otherwise resolved in his council; and accordingly, on the 10th August, the siege was commenced. This step has always been regarded as the fatal cause of the King's subsequent disasters.

The siege of Gloucester; Essex compels Charles to

It is recorded as what may be termed the prejudice that always possessed the mind of King Charles the First, that all who bore arms against him acted contrary to the dictates of their conscience; so that he

1643. raise the siege, 5th September.

was readily induced to believe that, if the opportunity to support his cause were given them, they would avail themselves of it to serve him. It may be justly conceded that this notion, mistaken though it often was, bespoke a great confidence of His Majesty in the rectitude of his conduct. The garrison of Gloucester was at this time under the command of Colonel Massey, a soldier of fortune, who had served in the King's army in the war in Scotland under Colonel Legge. This attached favourite of the King sent a trusty messenger into the city privately with such a letter of kindness and overture to his old comrade as the writer thought might persuade him to give up the place. It was couched by Legge as from one friend to another. But in his reply Massey assumed the style of an injured man, seeming to take it unkindly that his friend should endeavour to seduce him from his loyalty and allegiance. Nevertheless the messenger declared that after asserting the same sentiments before company, he had been brought by a back way to a place where it was told him "that he was to tell Will Legge that he was the same man he had ever been—his servant—and that he wished the King well; and that if His Majesty came himself to besiege the town, he could not hold it against him; for that it would not stand in his conscience to fight against the person of the King." This so completely jumped with the opinion entertained as above, that some credence was given to the notion that Gloucester would be an easy acquisition. But when the place was commanded to surrender, the summons was replied to in such indignant terms, that the King, in his disappointment and displeasure, ordered the suburbs to be fired, and commanded the army to begin their trenches without any further delay; for he saw the necessity of a more vigorous and effectual reduction of the city than he had looked for; although in his heart he despised the place, and still thought to carry it sword in hand,

relying something still on Massey, who, he thought, had not altered his mind, but had been overborne by colleagues. The King's indifference prejudicially affected his soldiers, who seemed strangely dispirited in their assaults, and engaged in them with an apparent ill-will. 1643.

In the meanwhile considerable activity was employed by the Parliament in getting their army ready for the field, to raise or interrupt the siège. Essex began his march for this purpose on the 26th July. As soon as it was known that the advance had reached Aylesbury, the King began to bestir himself, and sent to Oxford to desire that all the foot that could be spared should be sent to him, for at this juncture Massey had beaten the Royalists out of their works; and the horse, which was his most numerous force, could lend little assistance in a siege. Charles had received 3000 men from Somersetshire; and having battered the walls with his guns for thirty-six hours, he made a fair breach, and resolved upon an assault, in hopes to carry the place before the enemy came up. The assault took place on the 31st August at about seven in the evening, but the men showed little energy in their attempt, and were badly led; so that after a very obstinate and bloody dispute, they were beaten back by the besieged with great loss. It was thought very unaccountable at the time that the Royal horse, which amounted to 8000 men, should not have been sent to harass the advance of the rebel army during a march of thirty miles over an open country; but on the 5th September, after the siege had lasted twenty-six days, the thunder of Essex's cannon from Presbury hills announced his near approach to the garrison, who, it was said, could scarcely have held out a few hours longer. As soon, therefore, as the King, knowing this, heard of the Lord-General's approach, he attempted to delay the march for a short interval by sending in a herald with proposals for an accommodation. But Essex promptly replied "that he had no commission to treat, but only to relieve Gloucester:" and the mes-

1643. — senger was made fully aware that this was the opinion of the army, for the reply was accompanied by loud acclamations from the Parliamentary soldiers,—"No propositions; no propositions." The King, upon this, calls a council of war, and proposes to go forward and fight. But the Royal infantry officers had been so balked and disheartened by the siege, that they over-persuaded the cavalry officers, who were all for action, knowing well the superiority of their arm both in number and training. However, in the end the graver counsel prevailed, and it was determined to raise the siege, the army marching to Berkeley, and His Majesty repairing to Sudely Castle, the residence of the Lord Chandos, within eight miles of the city.

Rejoicings of the citizens of Gloucester at their deliverance.

Essex at once entered Gloucester on a day which the besieged had set apart for a public fast, but which they now converted into a service of jubilant rejoicing. The most passionate expressions of gratitude to their deliverers were mingled with solemn thanksgiving to God, by whose special providence they believed this relief to have been sent. The Lord-General in return acknowledged in fit terms the signal service rendered to the Parliamentary cause by the heroic defence of their city. Ample provision for the garrison had been brought by the relieving army; but great stores were soon found in the abandoned Royal quarters, for the people had been so solicitous to serve the citizens, that they had managed to keep abundant supplies from the knowledge of the King's commissariat agents. Essex, therefore, having returned and revictualled the place, was ready to depart again after three days, and had actually reached Tewkesbury before the Royalist outposts had discovered that they had quitted Gloucester. The King, however, as soon as the information reached him, endeavoured to recover the advantage which the supine negligence of his scouts had lost him, and instantly set his army in pursuit. Prince Rupert, with his accustomed energy, led forward the horse, which were already upon

The first battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643.

the enemy on the 17th September in the open grounds about Auburn Chase; and the King being present with them, was unwilling to let slip the advantage of an encounter. The enemy, no way disinclined, came first up to them at a trot to make the attack, but were received with a terrible fire from the dragoons, which laid near 100 of them on the ground, and these made so brave a charge as routed both horse and foot who were drawn up to prevent the progress of the Royalists. The King, in order to outflank his opponents, marched his main body night and day in order to interpose it between the Parliamentarians and Newbury. Essex, therefore, was obliged to bivouac his army in the field, instead of the more comfortable quarters he had promised them in the town. It was resolved in the King's Council overnight, not to engage in the morning, but to postpone till the evening to make a resolute attack. Essex, on the other hand, drew up his army with excellent conduct on Biggs Hill, and prepared during the night to receive the action with much presence of mind. 1643.

The day no sooner appeared, on the morning of the 20th September, displaying the horse and foot standing in battalion, than Prince Rupert and his Cavaliers forgot all the prudent advice of the Council, at once advanced to an assault. The officers and commanders of the Parliamentary foot, under Lord Roberts, with daring resolution prepared to meet them. The Cavaliers, however, performed their charge bravely, and gave into the midst of the enemy with a mighty impression. The greatest part of the Parliament foot nevertheless received the horse with wonderful intrepidity upon their stand of pikes. The blue regiment of the London trained bands discharged their muskets against the Cavaliers so effectually as to send them reeling; and, notwithstanding the advance of the squadron in a third assault, the hail of bullets came so thick upon them, and made such havoc both of men and horses, that they

1643. were driven back in confusion. The struggle was disputed in all parts with great fierceness and courage, but with pretty equal success, till night put an end to the conflict. For some unaccountable reason no use was made of the King's artillery; but the Lord-General thundered from his ordnance from the top of the hill, though without much effect; and indeed his loss was much greater than that of the King. But there were more valuable lives lost to His Majesty, which doubtless influenced him to stay the effusion of blood, and march away his army in the night towards Oxford, thus leaving the way open to Essex to march into Newbury, and so go forward unmolested towards London.

Loss on both sides; character of the Earl of Carnarvon.

In this sanguinary field the loss of known and distinguished individuals was chiefly on the King's side. The Marquis de la Nieuville, a Frenchman, who had come over out of Holland in attendance on the Queen, and was present in the action as a volunteer, was killed. The young Earl of Sunderland was struck down by a cannon-shot. The brave and enlightened Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, on his return from a successful charge, was slain by some straggling troopers of the enemy as he was carelessly returning among the scattered troopers after the rout of some opposing cavalry. "A person," says Lord Clarendon, "with whose great parts and virtue the world had no time to be well enough acquainted. Before the war he seemed to have given himself entirely to the coarser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the field sports, in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. But after the troubles had begun he wholly gave himself up to the office and duties of an officer; he was as diligent in his obediences as dexterous in command. Before assuming the character of a soldier he severely abstained from those licences in which he had formerly indulged, which others may have thought excusable in a military man. He was of a keen courage, but had a singular self-command in his mind and

understanding in the time of danger. In short his life was an honour to the cause which he embraced, as his untimely death was a sensible wound to it. He was brought to the Inn at Newbury, where the King came to see him. He had just life enough left in him to speak to His Majesty, who showed a concern more than ordinary for the loss of one he had learned to love so much; and the attendants, who were fearful of an inroad from the enemy, endeavoured to hurry Charles out of the room, but he would not stir from Carnarvon's bed-side till all hopes of life were passed away. Before the King entered the room, the Earl was asked by a lord (who promised to deliver it faithfully), if he had any suit to make to His Majesty, to whom he replied, 'I will not die with a suit in my mouth to any King, save to the King of Heaven[4].'" 1643.

Death and character of Viscount Falkland, September, 1643.

Here also fell that paragon of nobility, Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland, of whom Clarendon, with the animated and affectionate panegyric of a personal friend, says, "He was a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there had been no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it would have been infamous and execrable to posterity." Although at the time of his death he was Secretary of State to the King, yet before he came of age he had passed into the Low Countries with a view of learning the military profession; but not finding employment there

[4] The following is related of the Earl of Carnarvon:—When he was a young man, a physician at his father's table once gave him the lie, and the company present were as much astonished at the Doctor's insolence as at the young lord's mildness, when he replied, "I'll take the lie from you, rather than take your physic. You may speak what does not become you, but you shall not induce me to do what is unworthy of myself."

1643. in a command he returned to England. But he retained to the last a desire for military glory, for he delighted to visit the trenches, and to discover by the nearest approaches what the besieged were about at the siege of Gloucester. He was earnestly remonstrated with by those who loved him for doing that which was so much beside his place in this battle; but he replied, "That his office could not take away the privilege of his age, and that a secretary should be present amid the greatest danger of war; for that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other men; that all might see that his impatience for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity or any fear for his own person." He coolly considered the consequences of any fight; for it is related that on the morning of the battle he called for a clean shirt, and, being asked the reason, answered, "that if he should be slain in battle, they should not find his body in foul linen." Again dissuaded by his friends from going into the fight at all, he said, "He was weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his country, and he did believe that he should be out of it ere night." He put himself into the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, and advanced upon the enemy down a lane, the hedges of which were lined on both sides with musketeers, from whence he was shot in the lower part of the belly, and fell from his horse so undistinguished in the melée that his body was not found till the next morning. In person he was little, and not strong built; his eye was black and lively, and his hair was dark, but "somewhat flaggy." He was buried at Great Tew. He was wont to say, "that he pitied idle, unlearned, and useless men in a rainy day."

The King's distress for money: anecdote from Clarendon's History.

The advanced season of the year put an end to the campaign of 1643. The indefatigable industry of the King and his servants and friends was during this winter exerted to supply and recruit his forces. His great want continued to be in money, after he had

pretty well disposed of all the plate belonging to the colleges at Oxford, which was very considerable, and which the University, in its exuberant loyalty, had engaged to deliver up to His Majesty. Some gentlemen undertook to make levies upon their own credit and interest, and freely lent the money; while letters were written in the King's name to those who professed attachment to the Royal cause to borrow from them or to obtain money on any plea that could be imagined. Clarendon relates a good story of some of these proceedings: "There were two great men, who lived near Nottingham, both men of great fortunes, but of great parsimony, and known to have much money lying by them—Pierrepoint, Earl of Kingston, and Leake, Lord Deincourt. To the former the Lord Capel was sent, and to the latter Jack Ashburnham—both of the bedchamber, and of entire confidence with their Royal master. Each of them was the bearer of a letter written in the King's own hand, with a request to borrow from each five or ten thousand pounds. Capel was very well received by the Earl, and entertained as well as the ill accommodations of his house and the manner of his living would admit. He expressed, with wonderful civil expressions of duty, the great trouble he sustained in not being able to comply with His Majesty's commands, and he said all men knew that he neither had nor could have money, because he had every year of ten or a dozen past, purchased a thousand pounds of land each year, and therefore he could not be imagined to have any money lying by him, which he never loved to have. But, he added, he had a neighbour who lived within a few miles of him, his old friend Leake, who was good for nothing, and lived like a hog, not allowing himself necessaries, and who could not have so little as 20,000*l.* in the scurvy house in which he lived. He therefore advised that the King should send to him, who could not deny the having of money, and concluded that the duty he owed

1643.

1643. to His Majesty, and his known detestation of the Parliament, would so work, that he might get some money of him [5]. Ashburnham got no more money, nor half so many good words, from Lord Deincourt, who, although he had been created a peer by James the First about thirty years before, yet professed so little correspondence with the Court as not even to know the actual King's name; and when he had read His Majesty's letter, he asked from whom it came. And when he was told that it was from the King, he said, 'Nay! he was not such a fool as to believe that, for he had received letters from the King his father, and they always began "*Right trusty and well-beloved,*" and that the King's name was at the top, whereas this letter began "Deincourt," and ended "Your loving friend, C. R." ' which he said was not at all like the King's writing. After receiving a very ill supper, the messenger was shown to his bed, my Lord saying that he would confer more on the matter in the morning. In the meanwhile he sent a servant with a letter to one who was his wife's nephew and about the Court, stating, 'that one Ashburnham had brought him a letter which he said was from the King, but he knew it could not be, and therefore desired to know who this man was,' and my Lord kept him in his chamber till the man returned, which he did indeed before the guest was stirring, with a reply assuring him that the letter was from the King himself, who seldom vouchsafed to write to any one, and told him the quality and condition of the bearer of it. Accordingly when Ashburnham came down-stairs, he was treated with so different a respect from what he had received overnight, that he, who knew nothing of the cause, believed that he should obtain all the money that was desired.

[5] It must nevertheless be said to the honour of the Earl of Kingston, that he had sent 4000 men to the Royal standard at the beginning of the civil war, and that he had been all his life famous for acts of charity, hospitality, and munificence.

But he was soon undeceived. The noble Lord, with his best countenance (though he had an unpleasant face at best) told him that he had no money himself, but was in extreme want of it; but he could tell him where he could find enough. He had a neighbour who lived four or five miles distant—the Earl of Kingston, who never did good to any one, and loved nobody but himself, who had a world of money, and could furnish the King with as much as he needed; and that if he should deny that he had money, he, Deincourt, knew where there was a trunk full which he could discover to them: that moreover the Earl was so ill beloved, and had so few friends, that nobody would care how His Majesty used him. The two messengers forthwith returned to the Court, and so near in time the one to the other, that he who came first had not finished his relation when the other entered the presence [6]." 1643.

Essex returns to London, and the King to Oxford. Charles seeks the aid of the Irish.

The return of Essex to London, and the King's withdrawal into Oxford, after the fight at Newbury, did not put an end to the military operations of the year 1643. Prince Rupert, and his brother the Prince Maurice, kept the war alive in the West, at Bristol and Plymouth; in the northern counties the Marquis of Newcastle was obliged to raise the siege of Hull by Cromwell, who now comes into story in command of the Parliamentary horse near Horncastle. The King, to obtain further strength to his cause at this juncture, now did an act which was converted into much odium against him. The rebels in Ireland had, ever

[6] Clarendon—who further relates that "This wretched man was nevertheless as far from wishing well to the Parliament as the other; nor would he even compound for his estate when the cause of the King had foundered, but suffered it to be sequestered. Two of his sons died in the field for Charles the First; and after the execution of the King the old man took events so to heart that he clothed himself in sackcloth, and caused his own grave to be dug, in which he laid himself every day, continually exercising himself in prayer and divine meditation until his death, in 1655."

1643. since the bloody massacre of the Protestants, maintained a contest against the Royal Government, the Earl of Ormonde being the Lord-Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The King now sent him orders to consent to a cessation of arms with the rebels, and to ship some of his regiments to England to His Majesty's assistance. The charge made against the King was, however, "a shallow device of the enemy." The Parliament at the very time had called into the kingdom of England an army out of Scotland to support their quarrel; and it was wise and reasonable in Charles to suspend his hostilities in Ireland to avert a more pressing necessity for his security at home. However, what was really a fault, was the bringing over some of the Irish rebels themselves to aid him in the war: in consequence of which a great many gentlemen forsook the King, and either altogether retired from the contest, or, compounding with the Parliament for their properties, went abroad.

The Scotch, under Lesley, enter England, Jan. 1644, and lay siege to Newcastle, and to York.

On the 15th January, 1644, 12,000 Scotch infantry, with 3500 cavalry, under the command of Lesley, now Earl of Leven, a disciple of the great Gustavus, and a soldier of great experience in the Continental wars, crossed the frontier and entered England. The Marquis of Newcastle was directed to oppose this movement, and, marching out of York, moved forward with that view to Newcastle. But the Scots were soon joined by all the friends of the Parliament in the North, and increased their army so much, that they boldly laid siege to Newcastle, which was but weakly fortified, so that, after an investment of some twelve days, or thereabouts, on the advance of the army of Fairfax to Tadcaster, Newcastle, on the 20th April, withdrew all his forces back to York, where he made forthwith all the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, which he foresaw to be requisite. York was already in a good posture to resist attack, for the fortifications were exceedingly

strong and in good order, and the place was well supplied. The garrison was increased to 12,000 men, and Sir Thomas Glenham, a good soldier and brave gentleman, was constituted its Governor. The Scots, on sight of York thus prepared for a stubborn siege, sent expresses to the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell to march up to their aid, when upwards of 30,000 men sat down before the city. 1644.

Brave defence of the Countess of Derby.

The Marquis, nevertheless, sent the King word that it was impossible to hold York against such a force for more than six weeks or two months, and besought His Majesty to devise in the meanwhile some efficient assistance. At the same time Charles had notice of the valiant resistance made by the Countess of Derby at Latham House, and desired much to relieve that brave lady from the imminent hazard that seemed to await her resolute resistance. Prince Rupert, therefore, was ordered to march by way of Chester into Lancashire, and with such expedition as to comply with the Marquis of Newcastle's requisition. The King, at the same time, marched out of Oxford to encounter Sir William Waller, whom he met at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury, on the 29th June, and entirely defeated. The brunt of that irregular action lay chiefly between the Earl of Cleveland on the King's side, and Middleton, who was Lieutenant-General under Waller. The former was a nobleman of daring courage, full of industry and activity, and of firm loyalty; and so thoroughly did he overcome his adversary, that Waller lost all his ordnance, and was so weakened by the dispersion of his force, that he returned to London, while the King marched westward, in pursuit of Essex.

Charles defeats Waller, 29th June, 1644.

Prince Rupert defeats the Parliamentary troops at Chester, takes New-

The Prince marched from Oxford with about 2800 horse; but, being joined on the march by other regiments, he arrived at the head of 5000 cavalry at Chester, where he forthwith fell on a Parliamentary force under Sir John Mildman, whom he compelled to sur-

1644. — castle-upon-Tyne, and raises the siege of York; but is defeated at Marston Moor by Cromwell.

render upon terms. Here His Highness was joined by 4000 foot, and, crossing into Lancashire, he fell upon Bolton, where, being recognized as having brought with him no artillery, he was refused admittance, and accordingly he stormed and carried the town, and without loss of time proceeded to Latham House. Before the Prince's approach the besiegers drew off; and he had the satisfaction not only to relieve the Countess of Derby, but to supply her with a fair amount of ammunition against further contingencies. Here, again, several bodies of foot came to him out of Westmoreland and Cumberland; and in the enthusiasm of his success Rupert found means to surprise the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and recover it for the King. He then moved forward, and raised the siege of York on the 1st July. But, as will be related under other biographies, he unfortunately overruled the counsels of Newcastle, and, always precipitate in action, carried his army the following day to Marston Moor, where he experienced a signal defeat at the hands of Oliver Cromwell.

Losses of the Royalists at Marston Moor. Charles at Exeter.

This was a fatal day to the King's affairs: 4000 men, 25 guns, 150 barrels of powder, 10,000 arms, and all the baggage, were the material loss of that action, which was followed by the loss of York and the dispersion of the King's power in the North of England. Cromwell would, as the first-fruits of his victory, have besieged the King in person at Oxford, but that the King was gone to the West after Essex, and was already, on the 26th July, at Exeter, at the head of an army of 2500 foot and 5000 horse, which was much more numerous than the forces that Essex commanded, who in consequence had retired before the Royal army, and did not stop till he reached Liskeard, on the 6th August. Thither the King followed him, and, seeing that his antagonist was becoming entangled in a country where subsistence for his army did not abound, and it being well known that Essex

had recently been much chafed by the indignities he had received from the Parliament, thought it a fair opportunity, as he was at all times desirous of peace, to open negotiations through the noble Essex. He accordingly wrote him the following letter:— 1644. —

"ESSEX,—I have been very willing to believe that whenever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable kingdom which all good men desire, you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you, you have it at this time in your power to redeem your Country and the Crown, and to oblige your King in the highest degree: an action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence, and honour that may be, and such an opportunity as perhaps no subject before you ever had, or after you shall have, to which there is no more required, but that you join with me heartily and really in the settling of those things which we have both professed constantly to be our only aims. The King's letter to Essex, with the Earl's reply.

"CHARLES R."

It would appear, however, as if the Puritan Earl was rather affronted at an attempt to tamper with his fidelity, as he added to his reply, "That he had no commission to treat: that, according to his commission, he would defend the King's person and posterity: and the best advice he could give him was to go to his Parliament." He had the grace, however, to send this answer by the hands of his own nephew. Charles, on finding Essex obstinate in his fidelity to his enemies, called a council of war to decide whether he should force the Earl to fight. It was determined to await the junction of the expected reinforcement under Sir Richard Grenville; and in the meantime to cut off all supply of provisions to the Parliament army. Essex was at Lostwithiel, and the King had his head-quarters at Boconnoc, a house belonging to the Lord

1644. — Mohun, about three miles distant. The Royal army commanded all the passages over the river Fowey; and Grenville, on his coming into junction, held Resprin Bridge; the King's cavalry extended from St. Blazey to Polkerris, and threatened all communications with Lostwithiel.

Singular escape of Balfour by night through the Royal quarters. Skippon capitulates.

Essex, having received tidings, on the 30th August, of the check sustained at Bridgwater by Middleton, who was coming up to his relief with a force from the side of London, and finding himself greatly straitened both for provisions and forage, resolved on making an attempt to cut his way through to the coast, and even to abandon the army, rather than adopt the alternative of falling into the King's hands. On the night of the 30th, which was dark and misty, he ordered Sir William Balfour, with the whole of his horse, 2500 in number, to endeavour to get unobserved through the King's quarters—his orders were, that if necessary, he should demand a parley. But Balfour heard that Goring, who commanded the Royal horse, was in the midst of a debauch with his boon companions, and he went boldly forward. The carousers treated the information of his advance with ridicule, and Balfour was soon enabled to report to Essex that he was through the lines. On this the Parliament General sent and demanded a parley, and at once, before the answer arrived, took boat and dropped down the river to the sea-shore. He embarked in a small sailing vessel, and reached Plymouth in safety on the 2nd. Major-General Skippon, who was left in command of the infantry, marched away from Lostwithiel to Fowey, fighting all the way with the Royal troops, which marched in pursuit; and then, finding escape impossible, he availed himself of the parley that had been granted to Essex's request, and concluded terms with his adversary to yield up all their artillery and arms, excepting the swords of the officers; and that they should be conveyed to Poole, on an understanding not to serve against the King for a

limited period. Thirty-eight guns, and 6000 stand of arms, fell to the Royal army by this capitulation. 1644.

The King immediately marched back to Plymouth, imagining that, after such a success, its gates would be opened to him at once. On the 10th the town was summoned. But as it was well known that His Majesty was not in a condition to undertake the siege, Lord Roberts, the Governor, rejected the cartel; and the Royal army broke up from before the place, and marched to Exeter, where it arrived on the 17th August. The King, strongly possessed with the belief that his great success against Essex would make a powerful impression in his favour in the minds of his people, resolved again to march towards London; but his army, instead of gaining strength on the march, became thinned by desertions, so that on arriving at Chard, on the 30th September, his muster only reached 5500 foot and 4000 horse. Waller, who had joined the army under Middleton, as well as Balfour and his cavalry, fell back before the King without fighting; and thus on the 15th October the King reached Salisbury. He had summoned his Oxford Parliament to meet him on the 9th November, and therefore continued his march in that direction on the 22nd October. At this juncture Essex again effected a junction with the Parliamentary army, which the King vainly endeavoured to prevent. His Majesty was content therefore to detach the Earl of Northampton with three regiments to relieve Banbury Castle, which had been blockaded since July, and was nearly reduced to extremity; and in this he succeeded.

Charles makes an unsuccessful attempt against Plymouth: summons a Parliament at Oxford.

At the critical moment when the close neighbourhood of the armies induced an expectation of a decisive action Essex was compelled by serious indisposition to quit the command, and retire to Reading. The King in the meantime advanced as far as Newbury, with a view to besiege Donnington Castle. With this design

Essex, disabled by illness, retires to Reading. Charles, after taking Donnington Castle,

1644. — returns to Oxford: abortive negotiations at Uxbridge.

he threw up such intrenchments as are termed of circumvallation. On the 27th, however, the Parliamentary army, numbering 15,000, horse and foot, under the command of the Earl of Manchester, advanced to Spearhill, or Bucklebury Heath; and Skippon with the infantry fell on the King's outposts at three or four in the afternoon. The contest was hotly disputed, and towards night the assailants succeeded in entering, and taking some guns, but were unable to hold them; and night put an end to the struggle, which cost 5000 killed and wounded on either side. Next morning Manchester declined to renew the engagement; and the King boldly ordered an assault of Donnington, and succeeded in attaining possession of it. Here, therefore, having placed Sir John Boys as Governor, he ordered his heavy cannon and baggage to protect themselves, and marched at the head of his army by Wallingford, to Oxford, where, some days later, he was joined by Prince Rupert, with 3000 horse and 2000 foot. As it was known that there were at this time considerable dissensions among the Parliamentarian leaders, the King, on the 2nd November, again sallied forth with a force of 11,000 horse and foot, to protect his recent acquisition of Donnington Castle, before which his enemies had sat down with a force nearly double in number. But nevertheless they permitted the Castle to be relieved, and the Royalists' baggage and artillery to be removed before their eyes, when the campaign came to an end by the army taking up their winter quarters at Oxford. At this period commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge; but as there was no serious intention on the part of the Parliamentary leaders to make peace, it is needless to say that the time expired without any such result having been obtained.

The command of the Parliamentary army is

The King's adversaries took advantage of the same interval to remodel their army, the command of which was now taken away from Essex, and committed to Fairfax, whose first resolve was to besiege the King in

Oxford. His Majesty determined, therefore, not to be cooped up in any small town; and, having duly prepared himself for the step in April, on the 17th May the King took the field, and marched towards Chester, which city was besieged by Sir William Brereton. The King's army, when reviewed, consisted of 5000 foot and about 6000 horse; and if it had been kept together the campaign might have been crowned with better success. But the intrigues of Goring, and the representations he made to the King, that if, by the positive command of Prince Rupert, his forces had not been taken from him, he should have totally ruined Waller's army, (which, upon the late good fortune His Majesty too easily believed,) obtained so much credit from the King, that Goring was sent back into the West with directions that he should be admitted to all consultations and debates, as one of the Prince's Council. This reduced the King's army to 8000 at a time when Goring's presence would have been of the greatest use and benefit to His Majesty; which it never was after, for about the beginning of the following July he was surprised by Sir Thomas Fairfax near Lamport, and driven in such disorder to the walls of Bridgwater, that, leaving behind all his cannon, ammunition, and carriages, he fled away to Devonshire and Cornwall, and in November procured a passage into France.

1644. — transferred from Essex to Fairfax.

There appears a little confusion in Clarendon as to the Gorings' (father and son) share in the transactions of the war. One of the name surrendered Portsmouth to the King, the government of which had been entrusted to him by the Parliament. "His incomparable dexterity and sagacity," and "his repeated treachery," are noted by the historian; and at the last he escapes with his head by the casting vote of the Speaker. The name of Goring, both as General Goring, and as Lord Goring, is more prominently connected with an unprincipled roystering character, who deserted the King's cause,

Reduction of the King's army through his mission of Goring into the West. Goring is defeated by Fairfax, July.

1644. — and betook himself, while the King was yet in the field, across the water. This man had "wit and courage, and understanding, and ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God or man, and was eminent and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness as any man in the age he lived in or before." This man had a design to get appointed Lieutenant-General of the West, and in his debauches had declared that if he was disappointed in this design he should be very discontented.

The King takes Leicester, May 31, 1645: posture of his affairs on the eve of the Battle of Naseby.

After the King had separated from Goring he proceeded to Evesham, and by slow and easy marches prosecuted his way to Chester. But in Staffordshire he was met by Lord Byron, the Governor of that city, who apprised him that the enemy had raised the siege on information of the approach of the Royal army. It was accordingly counselled to lay siege to Leicester, then under the command of Sir Robert Pye, which town, however, resisted the summons of the King, who on the 31st May commanded a battery to be raised against the walls, and in the space of four hours made such a breach, that a general assault was ordered. Twice, however, were the Royalists repulsed, until a reinforcement of horse, that happened to arrive under Colonel Page, dismounted, and armed only with their swords and pistols, got admission withinside; on which the Governor and garrison, to the number of 1200, threw down their arms and became prisoners of war. The whole town, without any distinction of persons, was, in an evil hour, and to the exceeding regret of the King, given over to the licence and plunder which commonly attends an assault. The capture of such a place, and in so short a time, added great reputation to the Royal army, insomuch that Fairfax, who had sat down to the siege of Oxford on the 2nd, received orders to raise it. Before, however, the King heard of this resolve, knowing only that the young Duke of York, who remained at head-quarters, "was in distress," His Majesty broke up from Leices-

ter, but had only reached Harborough when he heard that Fairfax had changed his mind and marched his whole army to Buckingham. By these movements both armies, before they were well aware of it, had approached each other so closely, that, before the King had counted the cost, he was forced "to fight," by the intemperate resolution of his Council; and on the 14th June occurred the fatal Battle of Naseby. 1645.

When the King rendezvoused his army, it appeared that, after the loss of those who were killed or wounded in the storm of Leicester, the garrison, which had become necessary by its capture, and the absence of many who had gone away without leave from the army to secure their plunder, there were not above 3500 infantry left to fight the impending battle for a Crown; and there were not horse enough, from other causes, to be relied on for immediate action. The King had already repented of his separation from Goring, and sent orders to recall him as soon as it was possible; and Colonel Gerard was summoned towards him from Wales, with a body of 3000 horse and foot. But the unsteadiness and irresolution of the Royal counsels had brought the cause at this time into a very disagreeable posture.

The disaster at Naseby: disposition of the Royal forces before the battle, June 14.

On Saturday the 14th June, the army was drawn up upon a rising ground of very great advantage, about one mile south of Harborough; the main body of infantry was under the Lord Astley; the cavalry, about 2000 strong, led as usual by Prince Rupert. On the left of the line was disposed the northern horse, about 1600 in number, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and in the reserve were the King's Life Guards, under the Earl of Lindsay, and the King's Horse Guards, under Lord Bernard Stuart (newly made Earl of Lichfield), making about 600 horsemen in all. The numbers of the Royal army in the field appear to have mustered 3500 infantry, and 4000 cavalry. Upon a report being raised that the enemy

1645. had retired, Prince Rupert drew out a party of horse and musketeers, to discover and engage them; but he had scarcely marched a mile when he came upon their van, whose movements he nevertheless was so confident were retrograde, that he sent back word to the Royal army to come up to him with all haste. Hereupon the vantage ground was quitted, as well as the excellent order in which the army stood, and an advance was made towards the foe, who was now discovered to stand upon a high ground before the village of Naseby. Thus the Royal army was engaged before a gun had come up; and reliance was placed on brute courage, when skill and conduct were above every thing requisite.

Disposition of the Parliamentary forces: the battle.

It is not quite clear what were the numbers of the army under Fairfax; but General Skippon commanded the centre of the enemy, with the main body of the infantry; and Cromwell and Ireton commanded the cavalry on either flank. The battle commenced with the advance of Rupert and his brother Maurice, and was conducted with the Prince's usual vigour. He bore down all before him, and made himself master of six pieces of cannon. He chased the left wing of the Parliamentarians almost to Naseby town. Here Ireton had his horse killed under him, and was wounded and made prisoner. At the same time Cromwell's horse was engaged in a very obstinate fight with Sir Marmaduke Langdale on the other flank; and had at length overwhelmed them and put them to flight. The Parliament's infantry was likewise so much pressed in the centre by the King's, that they had fallen into great disorder. The face of the battle was however suddenly changed by the temper of the principal leaders. Prince Rupert, with his victorious horse, was losing his time at a distance in an idle endeavour to become master of the Parliamentary train of artillery; when Cromwell, also victorious, returned to the field, and immediately fell upon the flank of the Royal infantry

with such force that they were routed. The King led forward his reserve, and displayed all the conduct of a brave and prudent general. But, in the absence of Prince Rupert's force of cavalry, he was unable to overwhelm Cromwell, though he showed all the valour of a stout soldier. Fairfax and Skippon took advantage of the moment to rally their troops. The latter was dangerously wounded, and placed *hors de combat*. Fairfax, with his helmet off, riding up and down bareheaded, at once ordered Colonel D'Oyley to charge the King's foot in front, while he led on the attack against them in the rear; and thus the Royal infantry were so cut up, that there was no possibility of rallying them. At length Rupert returned to the field, and the King used his utmost endeavours to recover the battle by heading the Prince's cavalry in a charge against Cromwell's horse; but he could not prevail upon the Cavaliers to follow him. Various reasons have been assigned for this backwardness of Rupert's Cavaliers to obey their Sovereign's orders in his necessity. Clarendon says that the difference was observed all along in the discipline of the Royal troops and of those under Fairfax and Cromwell—that though the former generally prevailed on the onset, they seldom could be brought to rally or make a second charge the same day; whereas the Parliamentarians, whether they prevailed or were beaten, presently rallied and stood in good order, awaiting further command. The day nevertheless does not appear to have been by any means lost at this time; for there had not been slain on the King's side more than 400 men, while 1000 had been killed or wounded on the side of the Parliament. The following anecdote is, however, related in the "History of the Rebellion." The King, as has been said, had placed himself in the front with a view of charging the enemy with his guards, when the Earl of Caernworth (who rode next to him) on the sudden laid his hand on the bridle of 1645.

1645. His Majesty's horse, and swearing two or three foul-mouthed Scottish oaths, said, "Sir, will you go upon your death in an instant?" and withal laying hold of the King's bridle turned his horse round to the right; upon which the Cavaliers, seeing this move, raised a cry which deterred them from charging, and induced them to ride upon the spur without looking behind them. It is true that upon the more soldierly command of "Stand," many of them returned; though the former unlucky gesture had carried the greater part away; and this forced the King also to retire, leaving his enemies masters of the field. Indeed, the infantry was already so dispirited, that all that could be done was to effect the rally of such as still stood upon the field, to the manifest hazard of the leaders' persons. There were captured 4000 or 5000 prisoners, with the whole train of guns and baggage, and among the latter the King's cabinet, with his most secret papers, including those that had passed between the Queen and himself, which the Parliament was so brutish and cruel as to print and publish, in order to excite the public prejudice against His Majesty.

The King retires into Wales: Rupert hastens to the aid of Bristol: Fairfax retakes Leicester.

The King and Prince Rupert quitted the field together, and retreated by way of Leicester to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, from whence they continued in hot haste to Hereford, where they parted company,—the Prince making haste to reach Bristol, that he might put that place in a condition to resist the arms of the conquering party, while the King fell back into Wales, and placed his quarters at Raglan Castle. Meanwhile Fairfax pursued his way towards Leicester, which surrendered to him by capitulation four days after the battle. The Prince of Wales, who had been ordered by the King to fix his residence near Bristol, had been already constrained to quit it on account of the appearance of the plague in that seaport; and, leaving 500 of his guards for a garrison, had removed to Barnstaple. Lord Goring, on his joining the Prince,

here published the King's express pleasure that he should command the Royal forces in chief, which had so much increased the discontent of the leaders in the West, that His Majesty was now obliged to revoke his appointment, and order Lord Hopton to command under the Prince, and Lord Goring to march forthwith towards Northamptonshire. Prince Rupert, on his arrival at Barnstaple, very earnestly recommended Lord Goring to look to the defences of Taunton, Lamport, Bridgwater, and other garrisons; and he wrote many earnest letters on that subject, advising him to suppress and reform the disorders of the forces under his command, which from the oppression, rapine, and violence exercised by them had given occasion to the formation of a class of peasantry in Somerset and Dorset who called themselves "club-men," and who had already grown to be so powerful, that they detained the provisions for the Royal army and garrison, and killed many of the soldiery. The arrival of Fairfax in Somersetshire had a quicker effect upon Goring than these representations; and, as has been already noticed, General Porter surprised him at Lamport in the beginning of July, and drove him under the walls of Bridgwater. In the meanwhile a new intrigue broke out in the West through Sir Richard Grenville, whom the Prince of Wales had been induced by his Council to nominate as Field-Marshal. These Royalist chiefs did the King's cause in the West very great mischief; but in the end both Grenville and Goring quitted the King and transported themselves beyond sea. 1645.

It was universally expected that Prince Rupert would perform wonders in the defence of Bristol, which had been garrisoned after the Prince of Wales had left it with 900 horse, 2500 foot, besides auxiliaries, and had been well stored with provisions and ammunition. The Prince himself had sent the King word that he hoped to hold out at least four months. Charles therefore established himself at Raglan Castle,

The Scots take Carlisle, and lay siege to Hereford. The King arrives at Oxford, August 28: rescues Hereford.

1645. — Rupert surrenders Bristol on terms, September 6, and is ordered to quit the Kingdom.

where he had been received by the Marquis of Worcester, who had well fortified, garrisoned, and provisioned it, and His Majesty entertained views for raising a force to relieve Bristol. Fairfax approached that place, however, on the 26th August, and repulsed several sallies made by the King's men, who hoped that the Parliamentarians would be fully occupied in interrupting the siege of Bristol. His Majesty, however, quitted it and made haste to pass through Shropshire and Derbyshire to rouse those counties to his cause, till he came to Welbech, in Nottinghamshire, the seat of the Marquis of Newcastle, where he refreshed himself and such troops as he still had with him for two days. He thence marched to Doncaster, where, owing to the exertions that had been made by the Royalists of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, as many as 3000 foot appeared, well armed and ready to attend His Majesty what way soever he might go. The Scots, under David Lesley, had at this time entered England, and had made themselves masters of Carlisle on the 28th June, whence they continued their march southward, and laid siege to Hereford. But while Fairfax was with his army engaged in the western counties, and the Parliament had but few forces in those of the midland, the King was advised to march to Huntingdon on the 24th August, where he made a considerable booty, and so came to Oxford on the 28th. This move so far disconcerted the enemy, that orders were sent to Major-General Pointz and Colonel Rossiter to assemble what forces they could, and diligently to wait upon the King's motions. Accordingly they drew together about 2000 horse, and posted themselves near Oxford. But His Majesty, desirous of raising the siege of Hereford, only remained three days at the University City, and hastened away to Worcester, where he received intelligence that the Scots, on notice of his purpose, had marched away towards Gloucester. This news was so

welcome to His Majesty, that he hastened his march, and was received with joy in the city that had been so long beleaguered. His heart was now set upon having accounts from Bristol, and he wrote to his nephew, the Prince, "that he had raised the siege of Hereford, and that the Scots were gone northward again; so that he hoped speedily to relieve him, and that he had ordered Goring to draw what force he could from the West with the same object." He himself determined to return to Raglan, and here, on his arrival, he received the astounding intelligence that Prince Rupert had surrendered Bristol on articles, on the 16th September. With what indignation and dejection of mind His Majesty received the confirmation of a report that he little apprehended, and could scarcely believe to be true, may be well enough imagined; and he returned to Hereford in so much anger, that the same night he wrote to his nephew, revoking all his commissions, and commanding him to depart the kingdom forthwith. 1645.

Defeat of the Royalists at Chester: the city surrenders to the Parliamentarians, Feb. 3, 1646.

The King stayed at Hereford some days in great perplexity and irresolution; but at length it was determined to march through North Wales to relieve Chester, which had nearly been surprised by a force of Parliamentarians under the command of the officer besieging Brereton Castle: for the hopes of Charles at this period rested on receiving troops out of Ireland, who could only land at Chester, and of being able himself to march off to Scotland, to join Montrose, who was understood to be pursuing a prosperous career; so that Chester was his proper line of march. But he was no sooner on his road than he was followed by Pointz, who kept close on his trail, and came suddenly upon the rear of the army as they crossed Rowton Heath, within two miles of the city. The King, with his guards, under the Lord Gerard, was advised to proceed forward into Chester, leaving Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had about twice the strength of Pointz,

1645. to check the enemy. The fight at first was pretty obstinate, and the Parliamentarians were repulsed in great disorder. Sir Marmaduke now drew up his troops on the heath on the morning of the 24th September, when he intercepted a letter from Pointz to the Parliamentarian Commander Colonel Jones, requiring the assistance of some foot to aid him against the Cavaliers. Sir Marmaduke of course sent this letter to the King. But it has been said that there was no good intelligence between him and the Lord Gerard; and accordingly, notwithstanding a second and more urgent despatch to the same effect, instead of receiving any assistance, he was ordered to withdraw into the city, where some foot, under the Lord Astley and Sir John Glesham, would be formed up to support him. But Sir Marmaduke was unable to comply with these orders for fear of Pointz. About noon they in the city saw 3000 foot and 500 horse in march, and, thinking them to be Pointz's force in retreat, sallied out of Chester, when there began a fresh and furious encounter—when Jones on the one side, and Pointz on the other, overpowered the Royalists, and drove them under the walls of the city, utterly routed, with the loss of 600 men and 1000 prisoners. Here fell many gentlemen of name, among whom was the gallant Bernard Stuart, the third brother of an illustrious family, who had sacrificed their lives for the Crown. The King received the news of his death with extraordinary grief, for he had actually raised him to the dignity of Earl of Lichfield, which his premature death anticipated. Among the prisoners was Sir Philip Musgrave of Cumberland, of an ancient and noble race and ample fortune. His Majesty, attended by the Mayor, stood on the leads of the Phœnix Tower, and was a spectator of the fight. He remained all night, however, in Chester, and on the morning of the 25th September marched out over the Dee bridge, with 500 men. But Chester, under the command of the Lord Byron,

still upheld the Royal Banner, until forced by famine to surrender on articles on the 3rd February, 1646. 1646.

The King's design of marching northward was now entirely frustrated; so that his next point was Denbigh Castle; but afterwards, being joined by 800 horse, under Prince Maurice, he crossed the Severn at Bridgnorth, and made his way to Lichfield; whence, gathering up some levies there, he proceeded to Newark, which was garrisoned by about 2000 horse and foot; so that now he found himself at the head of more than 3000 men. But that which first demanded the attention of the King was to rectify the disorders of the garrison of Newark, which was under the command of Sir Richard Willis, till then an unsuspected governor. He had, indeed, basely stooped to become a spy for the enemy; but his treachery was only discovered at the very eve of the Restoration. The great luxury and excesses of some, who had received liberal assignments out of the contributions raised with so much difficulty, was the great scandal to the cause, that excited Charles's anger; but by rigidly reforming the abuse he added considerably to the number of the discontented, who were already numerous enough.

The King proceeds to Newark, whence he returns to Oxford, Nov. 5.

The report now reached Newark, that Montrose had, after his defeat in Scotland, fought again with David Lesley, and was marching into England victorious. The King accordingly, after a week's stay at Newark, marched northward as far as Welbeck, to meet the news. Here he obtained the more correct intelligence —that Montrose had fled to Stirling, and was retiring further north, and that the Scots army, under Lesley, had entered England, and already lay between Northallerton and Newcastle. Charles therefore marched back to Newark; but, concluding that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in that place, he resolved to make the best of his way to Oxford, with 800 horse of his own guards, and the troops under the Lord Gerard.

1646. Charles is reconciled to Rupert.

But before the King could quit Gerard he heard, with much surprise and displeasure, that Prince Rupert, giving no heed to his former commands, was actually in his path, at Belvoir Castle, on his way to wait upon His Majesty. Orders were immediately despatched to His Highness, reprehending his disobedience, and requiring him to stay where he was until further orders. Notwithstanding this command, however, he came the next day to Newark, and, finding the King in the presence, told His Majesty that he was come to render an account of the loss of Bristol, and to clear himself from the imputations that were cast upon him. Charles admitted him to his supper without saying a word to him, and afterwards retired to his chamber without admitting of any discourse. How displeased soever he might feel with his nephew, nevertheless his natural affection for him induced him to hear his defence the next day; and after a day or two's delay His Majesty permitted a short declaration to be drawn up, by which Prince Rupert was "absolved from disloyalty or treason, but not cleared from indiscretion."

Circumstances soon occurred to make Newark no desirable residence for the King; and, without imparting his resolve to his followers, he fixed on Sunday night the 20th October, for his departure. But while Charles was at dinner on the very day of his quitting, a scene occurred, in which his nephews took a prominent part, very much to his dissatisfaction, for the details of which the reader is referred to the life of Prince Rupert. This delayed the King's departure till Monday the 3rd November, about midnight; and Belvoir Castle was reached about three in the morning of the 4th, whence, after a few hours' halt, the march was renewed, passing by Burleigh-on-the-hill, where some blows were exchanged with the Parliamentarian garrison; but the Royal troops pushed on with their best expedition, and safely reached Oxford in the afternoon of

the 5th. Charles was glad to find himself again where he could command rest and leisure to reflect upon the change in his affairs; for he had been in almost perpetual motion ever since the Battle of Naseby. 1646. —

Charles naturally felt anxious about the safety of the Prince of Wales, who was now completely removed from him in the West of England, where Fairfax and Cromwell were pushing their fortune. He, therefore, while on his march, had given injunctions to Lord Colepepper, to whose judgment and care the Prince was committed, "that with the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest expedition, Prince Charles be transported into France, where his mother is to have the sole care of him in all things but one—which is his religion, and that must still be under the care of the Bishop of Salisbury; and this I undertake his mother shall submit unto[7]." The day after his arrival at Oxford the King thus addresses his son himself, "Charles, I command you, as soon as you are in a probable danger of falling into the rebels' hands, to transport yourself into Denmark, and not to stay too long upon uncertain hopes within this island. I do not restrain you only to Denmark, but permit you to choose any other country, rather than to stay here. As for Scotland or Ireland, I forbid you either until you shall have perfect assurance that peace be concluded in the one, or that the Earl of Montrose in the other be in a very good condition; which, upon my word, he is not now: so God bless you. Your loving father, Charles R." A subsequent letter from the King to the Prince of Wales in the same strain drew

The King's advice to the Prince of Wales, who retires to Scilly.

[7] Poor King! Poor husband! The annals of every time give man the sad experience that a woman in the hands of a confessor will go contrary to all her most solemn promises, and, with an utter disregard to the taint that must rest upon her soul, will be as reckless concerning the sacred interests of her own child, or children, as Henrietta Maria was to hers. The mother broke her promise to the King and made both her children Papists: and with what results!

1646. forth a respectful remonstrance from His Highness's Council, expressing "the hopes they then had of improving their condition in the field by the Prince's presence with them, and the inconveniency of obeying His Majesty at that time, from the great indisposition that they perceived in all the servants towards His Highness's leaving the kingdom." The King's affairs in the West were, however, so deeply involved soon after this, by the intrigues and carriage of Lord Goring and Sir Richard Grenville, as has been already noticed above, that a design was discovered of even seizing the person of the Prince; and it was believed that many persons of quality in that country were privy to it. A frigate was accordingly obtained in obedience to His Majesty's injunctions, to be ready at an hour's warning; and, by the advice of the Prince's Council, it was determined that the time was come when the Prince of Wales should remove to Jersey or Scilly. Accordingly, on the night of Monday the 2nd March, 1646, His Royal Highness put himself on board the frigate, and on Wednesday the 4th arrived safe and disembarked at one of the islands of Scilly, where, after about a fortnight's time, Lords Hopton, Capel, and Colepepper arrived to join him, having entered into treaty with Fairfax for the entire dispersion of the King's army in the West.

Dissensions between the Presbyterians and Independents.

Meanwhile the King being for winter quarters in Oxford, his friends in London made him hope that the dissensions that prevailed in the Parliamentarian camp between the Presbyterians and Independents might be turned to his advantage. It was thought to be no ill presage towards the repairing of the fabric of the Monarchy, that the two mortal enemies of the Church, the Presbyterians and Independents, who had exposed the State to so much persecution and oppression by their proceedings, now hated each other mortally, and laboured each other's destruction with the same fury and zeal that they had both practised towards Church

and King. Both of them, however, still agreed upon two points as essential preliminaries to treating with Charles—the abolition of Episcopacy, and some sufficient security for the performance of the Royal promises. But after the entire winter had been taken up with messages, this negotiation, of which the King expected a happy event, only left things just as they were. 1646.

It was about this time that the Court of France sent M. de Montreuil to endeavour to effect a private agreement between the King and the Scots. He found the Scotch Commissioners residing in London inclinable to treat; but Charles was not inclined to the negotiation, which he regarded as rather a conspiracy between the Catholics and the Presbyterians against the Church. His zeal for Episcopacy would not suffer him to accept of such an overture; and he told Montreuil that he could never consent to it. The Queen sent Sir William Devenant from Paris to persuade the King to listen to him; but the moment he opened his mouth on the matter Charles commanded him to hold his tongue, and never more to appear in his presence. Charles refuses to treat with the Presbyterians.

The condition of the King during the entire winter of 1646 was to the last degree melancholy and cheerless. As the dread of impending ills is commonly more oppressive than even their real presence, perhaps at no period of Charles's life was he more truly the object of compassion. His vigour of mind was nevertheless more remarkable, for the most part, in his sufferings than in action; and this, at present, rendered him some little relief. He was now absolutely without an army. He had a sort of military force in Ireland, and in this emergency he is said to have entered into treaty with a body of Irish to cross over to England in his defence; but the negotiation was discovered; and after Naseby the King's affairs were in too disastrous a situation to attract such aid. All the towns throughout England were in the hands of his enemies, excepting Newark, which was besieged by the Scots Deplorable state of the King's affairs: designs giving himself up to the Scots.

1646. since November,—and Oxford, which Fairfax was now prepared to invest. Discontented men formed all his Court—men eternally overrating the service they had rendered the King and the sufferings they had endured for the Royal cause; but yet, mercenary to the last, such as openly expressed dissatisfaction when obliged to go away unrewarded. The few real friends that still surrounded him wrung the heart of Charles with a new sorrow, as he witnessed their disinterested attachment to his person and devotion to himself now so fallen from his high estate as to be without any power to help them: and he was conscious that their affection for him exposed them to the rigour of his implacable enemies. Every day and every hour added to his conviction that victory had hopelessly departed from his standard. To be taken captive and led in triumph by his insolent subjects, was too much for the King to contemplate without dismay; for every insult, and even personal violence, was to be dreaded from a triumphant party who hated his person and despised his dignity. In this desperate extremity he embraced a measure which in any other situation might justly expose him to the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion;—he resolved to give himself up to the Scotch army, and to trust to the loyalty of that people for his hereditary Crown and for his ancestral blood with that nation. Some question has arisen whether the King had any valid reason to expect to be better received by his own countrymen by blood than by his people by birthright, and a letter is extant from him to Ormonde, in which he says, "I have received very good security, that we and all that shall adhere to us shall be safe in our persons, honours, and consciences in the Scottish army." How this was fulfilled may be shortly stated.

1647. That Charles might better conceal his design from the people at Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city that none should pass but three persons. Early in the morning of the 27th April, the King,

Newark surrenders: the King is sold by

attended only by John Ashburnham and Hudson, a divine (travelling as Ashburnham's servant), who was a skilful guide in those parts, quitted Oxford, leaving no one of his Council privy to his going out, or informed whither he was going. They first directed their course to Henley-on-Thames, then to Brentford and Harrow-on-the-Hill; and in fact came so near London that it is believed that the King once entertained the thought of even entering the city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the Parliament. After a stay of some hours at Harrow, he turned to St. Albans, and then made the best of his way to Harborough, and so on to Stamford, where he stayed one night. They then crossed into Norfolk, and put up at a petty ale-house at Downham, where the three remained from the 30th April to May 4th. In this journey Charles sometimes rode with a portmanteau before him, as a servant; at other times he called himself a doctor, and sometimes a tutor. As soon as Parliament had an inkling of his escape from Oxford, the whole kingdom was on the alert, and it therefore became necessary to bring these wanderings to an end; so that very early in the morning of Monday, the 5th May, they suddenly appeared in the camp of the Scotch army, then besieging Newark, when Charles discovered himself to the Earl of Leven, the Scotch General. His Lordship affected great surprise at the King's appearance among them, but adopted the prudent course of merely showing personal respect and good manners. The General with proper courtesy dropped upon his knees, and tendered his bare sword to the King, who, to his surprise, retained it, saying it was his intention to assume the command of the army. But the wily veteran quietly answered him, "I am the older soldier, Sir, and your Majesty had better leave that office to me." He forthwith sent off to inform the Parliament at Westminster of this most unexpected incident. And in the mean while His Majesty

1647. — the Scots, and is by them delivered to the Independents.

1647. sent an order to the Lord Bellasis, the Governor, to surrender Newark to Leslie; when the Scotch army, satisfied with this success, marched away northward on the 7th, carrying the King with them; but Ashburnham and Hudson were left behind and advised to shift for themselves, so that Charles was left without a single counsellor or attendant. The Scotch army halted at Newcastle, where they most shamefully sold their Sovereign for 200,000*l.* in hand, and took their way into their own country, January 30, 1647[8], and Charles was removed, under the orders of Sir Thomas Fairfax, to Holmby in Northamptonshire. When His Majesty first came hither he was allowed the attendance neither of his own domestic servants nor chaplains, and was not permitted the use of the Liturgy of the Church; but he received some amount of respect from the Lords and others that were placed about him. Here he rested rather as a prisoner than a Prince, until late in the evening of the 2nd June, when there came about 700 horse to Kingsthorpe, hard by Holmby, and a rumour spread of an intention to surprise the place. Whereupon Colonel Greaves, in command, doubled the guards and began to prepare for defence; but he soon found that the guards he had with him were not to be relied upon. About one o'clock a body of cavalry was seen to draw up in the paddock and fields adjoining the house; and, about break of day on the 3rd, a party of horse marched into the back yard, where they were seen immediately to fraternize with the garrison. Colonel Greaves desired to speak with the commanding officer, but was answered "there was none that commanded them but Joyce, cornet in the Lifeguards," who, being demanded the cause of their coming, replied that his business was to speak with

[8] On hearing of this sale of his person, Charles answered with a mournful smile, "I am ashamed that my price was so much higher than my Saviour's."

the King. "From whom?" said they, "From myself," said Joyce; at which they laughed, and the Cornet answered, "'Tis no laughing matter: my errand is to speak with the King; and speak with him I must, and that presently." His Majesty, on being made acquainted with the demands of the Cornet, sent word he could not rise nor speak with him till morning. On this Joyce desisted. The King rose a little sooner than ordinary, and after having performed his morning devotion sent for Joyce, who with all the confidence of a resolution to be obeyed approached the King, and acquainted His Majesty with the commands he had concerning his removal. The King desired a sight of his instructions. "That," said Cornet Joyce, "you shall see presently," and forthwith, drawing up his men before the windows of the apartment, added, "These, Sir, are my instructions." On which His Majesty, with his wonted humour, remarked, "Believe me, your instructions are in fair characters, and legible without spelling." The Parliamentary Commissioners then inquired of Joyce whether he had any orders from the Parliament, and he answered, "No, from the General." They answered they would write to the Parliament to know their pleasure. "You may do so," rejoined Joyce, "but in the meantime the King must go with me," and he drew out his pistol, and held it in his hand. The King was not without apprehension that they might intend to murder him, and inquired whither he designed to take him, and was answered, "To the army." After the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, he went into his coach, which stood in the court ready for him, and was carried by Joyce to Colonel Montague's house, near Cambridge, and the next day was carried to Taplow Heath, where the army had rendezvoused, and he was lodged in the palace at Newmarket. After this Sir Thomas Fairfax, influenced, as it is believed, by Cromwell, carried His 1647.

1649. — Majesty from place to place in all the marches of his army. But the King here enjoyed much more freedom than he had done at Holmby;—all his friends had access to his presence; his correspondence with the Queen was no longer interrupted; and when he at length reached Caversham, his children came to visit him, and passed a few days there with him.

The military career of Charles the First was now ended; for it is not our province to follow him to Carisbrook, or to Westminster Hall, or to the block at Whitehall. We will merely add, in relation to the well-known incidents of his trial and execution, this touching stanza from the works of Andrew Marvel:—

> "He nothing common did nor mean
> After that memorable scene;
> But with his keener eye
> The axe's edge did try,
> Nor called the gods with vulgar-spite
> To vindicate his helpless right,
> But bowed his comely head
> Down, as it were, upon a bed."

Charles's military qualities and training.

It may surprise some to find Charles the First included among the Warriors of the Seventeenth Century; but they who will study his military life without the prejudices attaching to the civil and political dissensions that accompanied his troublous career will find that he was by no means without military qualities. His bringing up was, it is true, not in the least degree in the experience of a camp, nor in the associations of a garrison, yet certainly he saw in the course of it more active service in the field than falls to the lot of most "laurelled heroes;" and he deserves his "medals" the rather, because his reverses in battle were oftener occasioned by his being badly served by his lieutenants, than from his own blunders. He commanded armies in the field with occasional success, and devised plans for a campaign on just rules of strategy; and it may

he doubted whether there is any instance in ancient or modern history of one who, like him, fought for his crown with such a resolution and endurance under reverses so perfectly unexampled. He had unquestioned personal bravery, but had not the rashness that sometimes attends it; and he proved on the regicide scaffold that he had no fear of death, but that he could command a Christian's calmness at his latter hour. He was bold in enterprise and active in execution. "He had an excellent understanding, but would oftentimes change his opinions out of deference to others of worse judgment, and would follow the advice of men infinitely weaker than himself[9]." In truth, he lacked confidence in himself, and was too readily disposed to defer to others: he was greatly deficient in firmness of character, which compromised the success of many measures that had been deliberately considered in Council, and which otherwise would in all probability have been crowned with success. Had Charles been of a more imperious nature, he might have commanded readier respect and a better obedience. It was the lenity of his character and his averseness to strong measures that induced him too often to select the milder, softer expedients, when the severity of the sore required severe and rougher treatment. "With sufficient courage and ability to make him a perfectly competent leader of an army, it must be confessed that he was not possessed of that military genius which is best fitted to triumph over difficulties, which, while it could have turned to his own purposes the dispositions of his followers, would have permitted him to have availed himself of opportunities and unsuspected advantages sufficient to control the adverse decisions of chance, and thus command success." Charles had an ungracious way of showing favours; and his manner of bestowing them was almost as

[9] Clarendon.

mortifying as the favour was obliging; nor did he in his outward deportment take any pains to oblige any person whatsoever. He was naturally reserved, distant, stately, cold—qualities not calculated to captivate the soldiery; but, on the other hand, he had the candid plainness of speech they love, and was remarkable for his excellent horsemanship and love for athletic exercises, as well as for his capability of enduring intense fatigue,—all which attributes are more or less sure to win the attachment of the services of war.

His personal character, and taste for literature and the fine arts.

Charles the First was more eminently fitted, without any doubt at all, to have been rather a Sovereign of peace than a warrior. He was capable of encouraging the elegant arts and of appreciating learning in his Court, and he desired to inspire a good taste for these accomplishments in his nation. He loved pictures exceedingly, and had even handled the pencil himself; and he was also a good judge in the art. He was fond of literature, and was himself a good judge of letters. Indeed, Macaulay says that he discovered in his writings purity of language and dignity of style, and in his debates elocution and quickness of perception, that he had not been prepared to expect. Notwithstanding a narrow revenue and an entire freedom from ostentation or vanity, he lived in such regal magnificence that he is said to have possessed four-and-twenty palaces, which were all of them so completely and even elegantly furnished, that when he removed from the one to the other, he was not obliged to transport any thing along with him[1].

[1] Clarendon, Rapin, Hume, and Histories of England, *passim* Whitlocke's "Memorials;" Burnet.

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

A PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL.

Born 1592. Died 1646.

ROBERT DEVEREUX was the only son of the celebrated Robert Devereux, favourite to Queen Elizabeth, who paid with his life the penalty for his presumption of being Her Majesty's lover. He was born at Essex House, in the Strand, in 1592. His mother was Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of the famous Sir Philip Sidney. Having lost his father in the second year of his age, he was left to the care of his grandmother, by whom he was sent to Eton, where he received his first education. He was removed from thence to Merton College, Oxford, in 1602. He was accordingly only ten years of age when he became a gentleman commoner. There were probably private reasons for this premature under-graduation, for he was taken into the house of the Warden of Merton, Sir Henry Savile,

1592. His birth, parentage, and education.

1602. who was also Provost of Eton. Sir Henry is believed to have been a friend of his father, and to have undertaken that his youth should be learnedly and religiously trained; and as the Warden was a man of severe morals and the most ascetic religious principles, Essex probably imbibed from him those anti-episcopal opinions that distinguished him at a later period.

1606-11. Anecdote illustrative of his character in youth.

The young Earl of Essex was about two years the senior to Henry Prince of Wales, who also matriculated at Oxford 1605, and the King made them both sharers in the same studies and amusements. The two youths became very conversant and familiar, "being near to each other in years, but nearer in affection." Nevertheless young Essex is said to have early evidenced the high spirit he had received from his progenitors. The Prince and Earl were playing tennis together, when, after a set or two, a dispute arose connected with the game. The Prince Henry so far forgot himself in his anger as to call Essex "the son of a traitor," on which the latter hit the King's son on the head with his racket, "and so shrewdly that he drew blood." The incident came to the ears of King James, who examined into it, and, finding what provocation young Essex had received, dismissed the case with these words to the Prince of Wales, "That he who would strike him for his own honour, would be sure with more violent blows to strike his enemy in times to come." The quarrel was however fully healed, and many letters are extant which passed between the youths. Essex's hours were occupied in books that were more profitable than pleasing, but his recreations at Oxford were riding the great horse, running at the ring, and the exercise of arms.

His marriage: dissolution of it: travels: first military service, under Sir T. Vere.

The King, who was a notorious meddler, appears to have occupied himself in his care for the children of the late Earl, to have looked about for a suitable match for Essex with one of the daughters of the Earl of Suffolk, his Lord Chamberlain; and on the 5th January, 1606, the youthful Earl, who was only four-

teen years of age, was betrothed to Lady Frances Howard, a child still younger than himself. There were great entertainments at Court in honour of the nuptials. Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson lent their assistance in them; and the affianced couple received plate, jewels, and money gifts, to the amount of 4,000*l*. As the bridegroom was but fifteen, and the bride younger still, it was arranged that the Earl should pass the interval until he attained to man's estate in foreign travel. The young lady remained with her mother, a notoriously unprincipled woman, at Court; and a worse guide could not have been selected. 1606.

Essex went abroad in 1608, and the first place he visited was Paris, where he was very graciously received and entertained by Henry IV. He remained on the Continent till 1611, in which year he returned to England to claim a wife, when he was unluckily attacked by the small-pox. In the absence of her husband, however, she gave her affections to Carr, the King's favourite, afterwards created Earl of Somerset. And although her father carried her down to Chartley, she shut herself up in her apartments there, pertinaciously separating herself from Essex, until at length the King was prevailed upon to consent to further a dissolution of marriage, to which her husband was ready enough to consent, saying, "When I came out of France I loved her: I cannot so now, neither ever shall I." While the proceedings continued, Essex went over the water to fight a duel with the lady's brother. But the King getting wind of this interfered by his ambassador in the Low Countries, who sends over a police report, that gives such a description of the young Earl's person, as may be interesting—"Le Comte d'Essex est de moyenne stature: un peu maigre: cheveulx noirs: sans barbe: la face un peu gastée de petites véroles: age de 23 ans." The duel was prevented; and in 1614 the Earl retired to his country seat at Chartley, where he spent some years in the 1608.

1614. rural sports and amusements of the time, principally over Cannock Chace, where he enjoyed some manorial rights. But weary at length of such comparative inaction, he passed again to the Continent in the spring of 1620, where he served a campaign in the British Legion under Sir Horace Vere. He was a captain in a regiment in which Lords Oxford, Gerard, and Grey, with above 100 gentlemen of quality, also served. Count Mansfeldt, in the pay of England, also joined the army upon the Rhine, now under Prince Maurice of Nassau, who had the famous Spinola for an adversary, who had crossed that river with 30,000 men and entered the dominions of the King of Bohemia, to execute the Emperor's bidding against that unfortunate Sovereign. On reaching Darmstadt, in October, both the Prince of Orange Nassau and Spinola had withdrawn back into the Netherlands, because the termination of the ten years' truce had revived hostilities; and the English were joined to the army of the Protestant Union under the command of the Marquis of Anspach. This leader proved himself not at all to the taste of the valiant Britons, for he resisted every endeavour of Sir Horace Vere to have a brush with the Spaniards, and, without having had the least opportunity for distinction, they were in December put into winter-quarters about Manheim and Heidelberg.

The peculiarities of Essex's character will be evidenced by the following episode in his history at this time. He could not endure the inaction of winter-quarters in Germany, and therefore obtained leave from Sir Horace Vere to proceed to England to press for the promised regiments, which there was every reason to fear were now prevented from being sent to the army in Germany by the intrigues of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. His march led through France, and his train consisted of some twenty persons. Having reached Compiégne, he quitted his horses and attendants while he himself rode forward. At Gournay the postmaster, seeing the

1620. Incident in his travels.

Earl likely to prove a good guest, positively refused him horses, pretending that he had none to give him till morning; but while he wrangled with him the Earl's train came up, and he got on his own saddle to go the next stage. The inn-keeper seeing he was about to lose his prey became insolent and provoking; whereupon Essex ran after him with a cudgel, and chastised him so effectually, that he put his head out of a window and shouted "Murder." When therefore Essex afterwards attempted to go a few paces on the road, he found himself barricaded with carts, and a mixed multitude armed with pitchforks, swords, and iron bars. The Earl and his attendants drew their pistols and stood on their defence; but after about the space of half-an-hour a French officer appeared, who requested the English to put up their arms; and, having seen right done, he opened the road to the Earl to proceed. 1620.

On his arrival in England, he was named of a Council to consider and give advice how the recovery of the Palatinate might best be carried out. But whatever might be the advice of the Council, the sinews of war were likely to be wanting. The Parliament met in January 1621, and it was not till June that they came to a "general resolution to spend their lives and fortunes in the defence of those of their religion and of the Palatinate." But they would only vote one subsidy, or about 70,000*l*. Essex was quite keen in the matter, and it was at this time that he began to take an interest in the business of Parliament, having now taken his seat in the House of Lords. It is recorded that the Lords sat this session 110 times, and that the Earl of Essex was only absent eleven times, and that he had taken part in thirteen committees and two conferences with the Commons. 1621. Engages in the measures for the recovery of the Palatinate: takes his seat in the House of Lords.

Essex now occupied himself in raising a regiment at his own expense for the maintenance of the Protestant cause on the Continent; and in the early part of 1622 he carried them to the Dutch army, under the Prince of 1622. Serves in the Low Countries under

1622. Maurice of Nassau.

Orange Nassau, where he served with considerable reputation and distinction against Spinola at the relief of Bergen-op-Zoom; and against Don Gonzalo de Cordova, at the battle of Fleurus. He again joined Prince Maurice in the campaign of 1623. His winters were spent at Chartley, and the spring in attendance on the House of Lords. To succour Frederick of Bohemia was still the object of King James; but it had become a task of great difficulty, being nothing less than to reconquer his patrimonial Palatinate. The Parliament had been brought to vote about 300,000*l.*; and accordingly in 1624, four regiments of 1500 men were equipped, and the command of one of them was given to Lord Essex. These troops joined the army of Prince Maurice; but the campaign was merely one of manœuvring with the Marquis Spinola, and a failure in the attempt to surprise Antwerp. The troops going into winter-quarters, where the English suffered greatly from fever, it is probable that Essex returned to England, although as James the First died in the end of March, 1625, and a letter is extant from the Secretary of State dated June 29th, recalling the Earl of Essex to England, he may have remained in Holland, where, by the death of Maurice of Nassau, his old friend, Prince Henry of Nassau, conducted the war against Spinola, and he may have served with him until he obeyed the summons of his new Sovereign Charles the First.

1625. Is made Vice-Admiral, and sails with the expedition against Cadiz.

An expedition was resolved on by the influence of Buckingham, to avenge the self-love of the King and Steeny, which had been wounded by their treatment when the former was courting the Infanta; and the equipment of a fleet and army was undertaken in August. The command of the expedition was given to Cecil Viscount Wimbledon, a grandson of the celebrated Burleigh, and a martial nobleman of considerable military reputation, "having followed the wars in the Netherlands for the space of thirty-five years[1]."

[1] Walpole cites him as a Noble Author, from two Tracts drawn

Essex was sent for out of Wiltshire, where he was staying with his friend Lord Hertford, to accept the post of Vice-Admiral under him, "not out of any regard the King had for him, but because being a man beloved of the commonalty, the Earl was put into the commission to sweeten the business." The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 8th October, but did not come in sight of Cadiz, in consequence of foul weather, until the 22nd, when it was determined that Essex should first enter the bay with his squadron, and take up a position to cover the landing of the troops at Port St. Mary's. He went boldly forward, notwithstanding the fire of fourteen ships and twelve galleys, under the command of the Admiral of Naples, "contemning a fight at cowards' distance," and opened fire as soon as he could bestow his shot on both sides with such effect, that the enemy's ships cut their cables, and sought protection in the narrow channel. A thousand men being landed under Sir John Burroughs, a fort was surrendered, "the garrison marching out with colours flying, match in lock, and *bullets in their mouths.*" On the 24th Lord Wimbledon landed the chief part of the army, and, accompanied by the Earl of Essex, marched towards Porto Suago, but they took no provisions with them; and accordingly the next day they countermarched up to Cadiz. But as soon as the General reconnoitred the place, he decided that it was useless to attack it. After which brilliant exploits 1625.

up by his Lordship, which are extant, in manuscript, in the King's Library:—the one, "A Method for Defending the Coasts of the Kingdom against an Enemy, in case the Navy should be otherwise employed;" the other, "A Demonstration of divers parts of War, especially of Cavalry." There is also a MS. among the Huntingdon Papers, being a Warrant from King Charles, "At the instance and humble sute of our beloved Cousin and Councillor Edward Viscount Wimbledon," directing the revival of the old English march "of one certain measure," whereby, "in the ancient custom," one nation was always distinguished from another.

1626. the army re-embarked, and the fleet returned to England on the 17th November.

Declines to join a new expedition: the King displeased.

The King was filled with anger and grief at the disgraceful conduct of the expedition; and Essex and nine other leaders serving under Lord Wimbledon preferred charges against the General at the Council table. The result proved that an old soldier may be an utterly inefficient Commander-in-Chief, for which other qualities are required than a mere passage of arms. But for some reason or other the matter was suffered, after a long inquiry, to rest and die away in silence. Essex, much displeased at the affair, retired to Chartley until the meeting of the new Parliament in 1626, which he attended with the same diligence, being absent but four during the seventy-nine sittings of the House, and he had now come to be known as a man of independent mind. He was offered the Vice-Admiralty of a new expedition by the favourite, the Duke of Buckingham. But he declined to accept the appointment in a published letter. The King sent for him and asked him why he could not accept it; and he replied, because he had not been offered it by the King himself; and he therefore desired leave the rather to go to his charge in the Low Countries. The King, displeased, "bade him go whither he would, and not come again until he sent for him." Essex went; and he returned from the Low Countries in November of the same year, when the remains of the English force were sent under General Morgan to join the army of the King of Denmark.

1630. The Earl of Essex, having obtained a divorce from his first wife in 1616, married in 1630 Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Paulet, of Edington; but after two years, in which she bore him a son, this lady eloped from him with a Mr. Uvedale, and we hear no more of Essex's commerce with women; although, to do her but scant justice, Lady Frances Howard scarcely deserves the opprobrium that has

been heaped upon her by history for her repudiation of Essex, seeing that she undisguisedly refused cohabitation with him, and declared that she was unable to make any preference when she was betrothed at the age of fourteen, and that she loved Somerset to distraction. Of course her share in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury is another question. The second wife had no such excuses; but Essex's son Robert died very young, in 1636, and nothing more is known of her by posterity, but that she eloped from Mr. Uvedale and married Sir Thomas Higgons. 1630.

The Earl of Essex now resolved to devote himself to private life. He accepted office in the King's household, but coveted popularity, yet was strongly suspected of Puritan principles. In the spring of 1639, an army of about 6000 men was raised to act against the Scotch Covenanters, the command of which was given to the Earl of Arundel, and Essex was constituted Lieutenant-General. The Earl of Arundel is better known as an archæologist than a leader; but it is believed that he had served in the Imperial army, in Hungary, against the Turks, and had taken with his own hands the standard of Mahomet at the battle of Gran. In 1595 he was elected by the Emperor Rodolph to the dignity of Count of the Holy Roman Empire[2]. He was a proud and haughty man, and had in his appearance, as may be well known from his picture by Vandyck, the aspect, countenance, and appearance of a great man. But Clarendon says he had nothing martial about him but his presence 1639. Serves under the Earl of Arundel against the Scots.

[2] From this grant arose a question which is still a grave one in this country:—How far an English subject can claim at home any place or precedence arising from an honour conferred by a foreign potentate, or display at home the ensign and insignia of any foreign honour? It is said that Queen Elizabeth settled this question in her own characteristic language, "That she, for her part, did not care that her sheep should wear a stranger's marks, nor dance after the whistle of any foreigner."

1639. and his looks. Essex, on the other hand, is described by the historian as "the most popular man in the kingdom, and the darling of the swordsmen." The command of the cavalry of the expedition was given to the Earl of Holland, who had so far seen service that he had held the temporary command of the Duke of Buckingham's army in the Isle de Rhé.

Puts Berwick in a state of defence. The English army under Conway routed in the North.

The Earl of Essex was sent forward to the northern counties to direct the assembling and calling out of the forces of Yorkshire and Durham, and then to organize the army at Newcastle, at which town he was met by many persons of quality out of Scotland, at whose representation he at once pushed forward to Berwick on the 1st April: and it is reported to the King that "the noble Earl, by his resolution, good conduct, and celerity, hath both done good service to His Majesty, and won himself much honour and gotten the soldiers' hearts." Having secured this frontier castle, and garrisoned it with 2000 men, and eight pieces of artillery, Essex returned to York, to meet the King, who had taken the field "with the pomp and parade of an eastern prince." The proposal he made to march at once on Edinburgh was too bold and vigorous for such a leader; but Essex was sent back with money, men, and necessaries for the army that lay near Berwick, and with instructions that he should make the position he had assumed two miles west of that town good against any force the Scots should send, until the King's arrival. The Lord-General Arundel remained with His Majesty, who did not reach Berwick till the 22nd. The Covenanters, in number about 3000, were under Leslie, near Dunse; but they were ill-armed and undisciplined, and signed a submission on the 18th June, when this mock war was terminated. The army was disbanded, and "the Earl of Essex, who had merited very well throughout, and had never made a false step in action or council, was discharged in the crowd without ordinary cere-

mony." It is very clear that Charles, who is said to have possessed in an unrivalled degree the talent "of disobliging those whom it was his interest to conciliate," had already considerably estranged himself from Essex, when he overlooked his pretensions to have the command of a force of 26,000 men, with which Lord Conway was sent to prevent his further inroad when Leslie crossed the borders, and even the Tyne, in August in the following year. The English army was on that occasion put to a disgraceful flight, Conway never showing front again until he crossed the borders of Yorkshire, and the King himself went to York. 1639.

The Earl of Essex was already an acknowledged leader of a party hostile to the Court, for he took an active part in the impeachment of Strafford; so that when in 1641 the two Houses sent an address to the King praying him to appoint the Earl of Essex Lord-Lieutenant of Yorkshire; for that, "out of the confidence and good opinion which the gentlemen of that county had of him, they would be ready to serve under him for the defence thereof." Charles gave the appointment to Lord Saville, a man of such bad reputation, that, on a second address from the Houses, he was compelled to resign his new honour within a fortnight of his acceptance of it. The King, however, showed at length a willingness to select his advisers from the Constitutional party, and in 1641 named Essex Lord Chamberlain, and appointed him King's Lieutenant and Captain General of all forces North of Kent. 1641. Essex opposed to the Court: is appointed Lord Chamberlain.

The misunderstanding between the King and the Parliament now increased with rapid strides, and the opposing parties took bolder counsels. In January, 1642, Charles took the fatal step of going down in person to the House of Commons to demand the five members. In the following March he removed his Court to York, and peremptorily called on Essex to attend him there as his Lord Chamberlain. The two Houses on this passed resolutions that the Earl did 1642. Essex is appointed to the command of the Parliamentary army, July 12.

1642. not disobey the King by remaining with the Parliament, and that it was a breach of privilege and an affront to discourage men from doing their duty in Parliament. It was next resolved that "the Kingdom be forthwith put into a posture of defence by authority of both Houses"—and on the 12th July it was further resolved that an army should be raised, and the command of it given to the Earl of Essex, "with whom they would live or die." On the 25th August following Charles raised the Royal standard at Nottingham, and found himself arrayed in the field against a subject.

Essex takes Worcester, and thence follows the Royalists to Shrewsbury.

On the 9th September the Earl set out from Essex House to assume the command of the Parliamentarian army, which he joined at St. Albans, where it numbered 20,000. This army marched to Northampton, Coventry, and Warwick, placing garrisons as they went; and on the 23rd the Cavaliers and Roundheads had their first skirmish within four miles of Worcester. This move obliged the King to march in all haste to Shrewsbury, in order to secure the valley of the Severn. Sir John Byron at the same time held the passage of the river at Worcester for the King. The river Teme has its confluence with the Severn a couple of miles below the city; and the Parliamentarian horse, under Colonel Sandys, took possession of the bridge over it near Powick, very much to the disquiet of Byron: nevertheless they held it till the 22nd, when Prince Rupert, with 700 horse, who had been sent for by Byron, arrived to his assistance. The Prince immediately attacked the Roundheads, and routed them with the loss of many, including Colonel Sandys, the Commander. Nevertheless, on the 20th, the King had arrived at Shrewsbury, and, being desirous of collecting his forces, ordered Byron to quit Worcester, and to join him by way of Ludlow; on which Essex took quiet possession of the city, and immediately sent forward the Earl of Stamford, with a

force to occupy Hereford and the valley of the Wye; and, taking this river as a base, he pushed forward his advance in the first week of October to within three miles of Shrewsbury, marching along the valley of the Severn by Bewdley and Kidderminster, which he occupied on the 13th. There is some question whether Essex himself did not rest at Worcester, since he dated a letter from that city to the Parliament on the 10th. But be that as it may, he did not obtain intelligence until the 19th that the King had quitted Shrewsbury on the 12th with all his forces, and was marching by way of Bridgnorth, Wolverhampton, and Birmingham. The Earl instantly left Worcester to head the King, lest the Royalists should get to London before him; and, in order to march the more rapidly, he left the chief part of his artillery and all his baggage behind him, and left two regiments of foot and one of horse to guard them. 1642.

The battle of Edgehill, Oct. 23.

On Sunday morning, the 23rd October, 1642, the King, passing by Banbury, was at Edgcote, and Essex at Kineton; when the latter, finding that the Royal army was upon him, drew out all his forces, consisting of eleven regiments of infantry and forty-two troops of cavalry, in the Vale of the Red Horse, while the Royal army appeared about noon on the west of Edgehill. The right of the Parliamentary army was under Sir William Balfour, and the left under Sir James Ramsay. The Earl of Essex took post in the centre on foot, pike in hand. His old comrade in arms, the Earl of Lindsay, also led the Royal infantry on foot, having Prince Rupert on the right, and Lord Wilmot on the left. It was about three in the afternoon when Rupert, with his accustomed impetuosity, began the fight; and it lasted till dark, when the Royal army withdrew, and left Essex master of the field of battle, of which he forthwith took possession; and as he was in no degree disturbed in it, he held it all the night and part of the next day. The

1642. — Parliamentary army then quitted the field at their leisure, and retired to Warwick to rest and recruit. The loss on either side has been stated as high as 5000; but at any rate it was nearly equal; and though Essex remained master of the field, the result was clearly in favour of the King, if he had known how to take advantage of it. It has therefore been deemed that the battle of Edgehill was a drawn one.

Arrival of Essex in London: he receives the thanks of Parliament, Oct. 25.

The day after the battle Essex was joined by Hampden, with a force stated to have amounted to 4000 men, when, apparently indifferent to the public estimation of victory or defeat, the Parliamentary General marched straight to London; but such was the result of Edgehill that, as Essex passed Reading, Rupert, with the King's advance, marched in as the Earl marched out. On his arrival at the capital on the 25th he was waited upon by the Speaker and the House, who congratulated him on his notable success, and incomparable courage and conduct, and presented him with a present of 5000*l*.

Action between the Royal and Parliamentary forces at Turnham Green, Nov. 14. Essex establishes his head-quarters in Windsor Castle: rejects the King's overtures, Dec. 19.

While Essex rested in London negotiations were opened with the King; and the Earl, on asking in his place what he should do with his army, was directed to forbear hostilities till further orders. But, owing either to some misunderstanding, or blundering treachery, the troops of the King and of the Parliament came to blows on the 11th November at Brentford. Essex was seated in the House of Lords when the news of this unexpected encounter arrived, and was ordered to depart immediately, with all the disposable troops he could collect, so that on the 14th he stood on Turnham Green with 24,000 men face to face with the Royal army. The Earl went from regiment to regiment to encourage his men, and satisfy himself of their sentiments, and Whitelocke records, that when the Lord-General had spoken to each, the soldiers would throw up their caps, and cry "Hey, for old Robin!" The King without fighting fell back again to Reading,

and thence on the 29th November to Oxford, on which day Essex moved his army to Windsor, and established his head-quarters in the Castle, where he rested during the winter. On the 19th December the King sent a letter to him at Windsor Castle, offering his subject a free pardon if he would "forbear to proceed any further in this destructive war," to which the Earl replied as follows: 1642.

"Most gracious Sovereign, I humbly tender my services at your Royal feet, being willing to hazard my life and fortune in the defence of your Majesty.

"Whereas you have been pleased to declare your resolution concerning a treaty of peace, so it has been my desire ever since these differences to embrace the same. But having such a great trust reposed in me and committed to my charge by both Houses of Parliament, I cannot conceive but that I am bound in conscience, according to the law of God, to discharge that trust which is reposed in me by your great and honourable Council, being for the defence of your Majesty's person, God's true religion, the privileges of both Houses of Parliament, the liberties of your good subjects, and the good of the commonwealth. If it be the pleasure of that great Council that hath reposed in me, to take the same charge from me again, and to confer it upon some other honourable person, I shall willingly surrender up my commission, and be ready to hazard my life and fortune in your Majesty's service against any foreign enemy. Your Majesty's most loyal subject, ESSEX."

Clarendon's character of Essex.

It would seem that during the negotiations that took place during the winter, 1642-3, a sort of truce was established between the armies; but a period of twenty days was assigned in terms for the treaty, to which no importunity of the King could procure an addition, and this expired on the 15th April. Clarendon makes this allusion to the character of Essex at this period, which may in some degree explain the above letter.

1643. "A weak judgment, and some vanity, and much pride, will hurry a man into as unwarrantable and as violent attempts, as the greatest and most unlimited and insatiable ambition will do. No man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than Essex did, nor could he have been led into it by any open or transparent temptation, but by a thousand disguises and cozenages. No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the King, while he thought himself wise enough to know what treason was. But the new doctrine of the King's power, and the new notions of ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his understanding, so that he vainly imagined he had the means to become the preserver and not the destroyer of the King and kingdom. With this ill-grounded confidence he launched out into that sea where he met with nothing but rocks and shelves, and from whence he could never discover any safe port to harbour in."

Essex lays siege to Reading, which surrenders, April 27.

On the 15th April, 1643, Essex marched with his whole army, consisting of 16,000 foot and 3000 horse, from Windsor, and sat down before Reading. His army was perfect in its equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a siege. Sir Arthur Aston commanded the town for the King, with about 3000 infantry and 300 cavalry; but the fortifications were mean and insufficient to endure a regular siege, or even to cover a standing garrison; and it was in such want of ammunition, that it had not above forty barrels of powder in its magazine. Notwithstanding all this the garrison looked upon the enemy with courage and contempt enough, as might be expected from both officers and soldiers in the infancy of a war; and they had no fears respecting victual, of which they had abundant store. Essex took council in what manner he should proceed; for few of his officers were acquainted with the way and order of assaulting towns; and in truth this was the first siege that had happened in the contest. The major part of the council inclined

to pursue the business by approach. Skippon, who had been one of good experience in the Low countries, was appointed Sergeant-Major-General of the army, and had the oversight of the approaches; and Sir John Merrick was preferred to be General of the Ordnance. From the town the garrison made frequent sallies with good success, and very many were killed in them. Within a week after the commencement of the siege Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, received a shot in the head that utterly disqualified him for command, and the governorship devolved on Colonel Richard Fielding. At the expiration of about twelve days the garrison addressed the King with great importunity for relief; and Charles, finding the concernment so great, would not await the arrival of Prince Rupert, whom he had summoned up to Oxford; but placing himself at the head of such horse and foot as he could most speedily draw together, and leaving very few behind him to guard his head-quarters, he advanced towards Reading. But when he drew near the town he was encountered by the enemy; and, after a very sharp conflict, the Royalists, commanded by the Earl of Forth (Ruthven), were forced to retire; and it was then discovered from there being no semblance of the garrison aiding them in the fight, that, not seeing the relief coming, Fielding had parleyed with the enemy. He had been in effect admitted by Essex to easy terms, on the 27th day of April. 1643.

Hampden proposes to lay siege to Oxford.

The Parliament were highly pleased with the capture of the town, and rewarded their General by resolving, on the 30th April, that 10,000*l.* should be paid to the Earl of Essex out of the moneys raised on the sequestered estates of delinquents. Singularly enough, considering the subsequent destiny of the title of Essex, "the estates of the malignant Lord Capel" were especially named; but it appears that this noble grant was not, owing to the great expenses attending the setting on foot the Parliamentary army, ever paid at

1643. all. After the surrender of Reading, it was debated, with great difference of opinion, whether the army of Essex should not march and besiege the King in Oxford; and this was the resolve very much urged by Hampden. But the Parliamentary army was in a very wasted and naked condition; and it was thought more prudent to carry it into quarters about Thame, to recover its exhausted energies.

Exploit of Colonel Urry.

It was during the time that the Parliamentary army rested here, that one Colonel Urry, an excellent officer of their horse, resolved to quit the Parliamentary army, and go over to the King's party; for which purpose he came to Oxford, where he was graciously received by His Majesty, who placed him under the orders of Prince Rupert, to whom he showed how easily the Parliamentary horse might be beat up; and to prove his fidelity he offered to accompany a good party as a volunteer in an attempt upon their quarters, in which service he accomplished his object so effectually as to bring back into Oxford many prisoners, after committing notable damage on the enemy. Prince Rupert was so pleased with this first attempt, that he resolved to conduct another similar adventure himself.

Battle of Chalgrove Field: death of Hampden, June 24.

On the night of the 13th June Rupert successfully beat up the quarters of a body of horse and foot at High Wycombe, and having laden himself with prisoners and booty, was returning as the sun rose. But Lord Essex, having been apprised of this, ordered out some horse to intercept Rupert on his return from this *camisado*. The Parliamentarians came up with the Royalists at Chalgrove Field, a place that from the incident that there occurred is become famous in history. John Hampden was at this time a Colonel of foot for the Parliament; but he was a person of extreme vigilance, and of a personal courage equal to the best; and as soon as the alarm of an enemy was given, he mounted his horse and rode as a volunteer to the front, and placed himself at the head of the regiments

that had come upon the service. He was in the midst of action, when he was observed, contrary to his custom, to ride off from the field, and it was remarked that his head was hanging down and his hands grasping his horse's neck. His friends accordingly followed him, and he was found to be shot in the shoulder with two bullets, which had broken the bone in two places. After languishing under this wound for six days, he expired on the 24th, to the intense grief of his companions, admirers, and many friends. 1643.

Waller's party try to supersede Essex.

The Earl's army was so weakened and disheartened by these little affairs and their consequences, that it was not thought prudent to remain longer near such unquiet and restless enemies as the Royalists had become; and the factions and animosities in London, where there was at this time a disposition to exalt Sir William Waller to the detriment of the popularity of Essex, induced a removal to St. Albans, from whence that noble Lord could with more convenience attend in his place in Parliament. Here he made loud complaints against the neglect of his army,—that his infantry were half of them sick and disabled by want of pay and clothing, and that his cavalry had dwindled in numbers, and the remounts promised him had never been sent. He accordingly boldly demanded the payment of arrears, with some assurance of better regularity for the future; that clothing should be immediately sent to his men, and that a regular system providing for the monthly recruiting of his horse should be entered upon. On the other hand, those who had their eyes on Waller, as a man more for their turn than Essex, hastened the equipment of Sir William's army; and as they could not equip both armies, they hastened the expedition of Waller into Cornwall, to the neglect of the Lord-General.

Rupert takes Bristol: the King is

At length in July Waller was utterly routed at Roundway Down; and Prince Rupert, following him up to Bristol, laid siege to that city, and captured it. The

1643. King about the same time, the 9th August, sat down before Gloucester. The Parliament became so much alarmed at these reverses, that they immediately set about recruiting Essex's army; and Waller was ordered to receive his commission from the Lord General, and to carry his army to him. Before the end of the month 15,000 men were got together; and on the 2nd September Essex moved for the relief of Gloucester, the siege of which he effectually raised without a struggle, and placed his head quarters in that city on the 8th, where he found Colonel Massy, the Governor for the Parliament, reduced to his last barrel of gunpowder and "all other provisions answerable." The Earl only remained three days, to obtain a scanty supply of victual and ammunition, and then marched away to Tewkesbury, where he received information that a small body of Royalist troops were in charge of a convoy of provisions at Cirencester. Accordingly he made a feint of throwing a bridge over the Severn, and sent a detachment to Upton, as though he would attack Worcester. But as soon as it was nightfall he took advantage of the darkness and a sure guide, and marched off so rapidly, that before the break of day he fell upon Cirencester, and surprised and took prisoners two of the King's regiments, and (which was of much greater value to him at that moment) a great quantity of provisions and stores, which had been prepared by the King's Commissioners for the Royal army.

forced to raise the siege of Gloucester: Essex takes Cirencester.

Essex, apprehensive that the King's superior strength might prove too much for him, now resolved to take his army the direct way to London; and, in order to spare his sick and wearied soldiers, he proceeded through the deep and inclosed county of Wiltshire by easy marches; but on approaching Hungerford, and passing Albourne Chase, he was astonished to find himself in presence of Prince Rupert, with near 5000 horse. The King had received timely information of the Earl's march, and with matchless industry set his

Indecisive action near Newbury, Sept 20.

army in motion to get it between the Parliamentary forces and London. The dashing Prince aided the King bravely, and, before the Lord-General could recover from his surprise, he charged the rear of the enemy with such good execution, that he routed many great bodies of their horse and foot. Essex nevertheless was able to pursue his march to Hungerford, where he placed his head-quarters for the night of the 18th September; but the King came up with his foot and train, and giving that town the go-by hastened on by Wantage, and placed himself in Newbury on the 19th; so that His Majesty, with his whole army, was established there two hours before Lord Essex approached the town. This put the Parliamentary army upon the necessity of bivouacking on the field, and passing the night under arms. The King now thought that he had it in his power to fight or not; and naturally it was most to his interest to maintain his ground without the risk of a battle: but, at day-break on the 20th, the Earl, placing himself at the head of two brigades of infantry, settled the point by commencing the action with an assault of Biggs Hill, within less than a mile of Newbury, on which the Royal army was drawn out in battalia. The right wing of the Parliamentarians, under Major-General Skippon, with their artillery under Sir John Meyrick, advanced along the valley to Newbury Wash; while the left attacked the King's right between the village of Enborne and the river Kennet. Prince Rupert, at the head of the Royal horse, displayed his usual impetuous valour, and forced the rebel cavalry under Sir Philip Stapleton to fly the field, and leave the foot without the protection of that arm. But the London trained bands and auxiliary regiments behaved wonderfully, and stood as a bulwark, against which Rupert led up his horsemen in vain. He could make no impression upon their stand of pikes; while the squares, with their matchlocks, poured in a fire which altogether 1643.

1643. silenced the carbines and pistols of the Cavaliers. The battle lasted all that day without any notable result; for though the King's cavalry were all unbroken, yet the Parliamentary foot were so immoveable that it could not be forced; so that when the shades of night parted the combatants the Royalists drew back into the town of Newbury, and the rebels maintained the ground on which they stood, resolutely prepared to renew the battle in the morning.

Essex advances unopposed to London: his reception there.

The day is reported to have been intensely hot, and this oppressed the soldiers: many of the Cavaliers of note moreover had fallen before the rebel artillery, which had been advantageously posted and well served; "so that they rather chose to take advantage of the enemy's motion than to charge them again upon the old ground:" a somewhat ambiguous expression of Clarendon, which must mean, of course, that they had no heart to hold their ground. At all events, when the day broke, Essex found the way open; and marching through Newbury unopposed, he pursued his way to London by way of Reading and Windsor. Here he found Sir William Waller, with about 4000 horse and foot, apparently quite unconcerned about his safety at Newbury, which was not above twenty miles distant. On the 26th the Lord-General, being at Essex House, was waited upon by the two Houses, and was received by the citizens with all imaginable demonstrations of affection and reverence. Public and solemn thanksgiving was appointed for his successes; and Essex, who had few trophies of victory in the battle, was fain to exhibit some stands of colours captured from the King's army, with some wretched, mean devices, which were nevertheless made the most of.

Coolness between Essex and Waller.

The jealousy between Essex and Waller was still rife, and occasioned much discourse and apprehension; although Sir William was outwardly all submission and humility, and the Lord-General full of grace and courtesy. Nevertheless the truce between these

leaders was hollow enough. In about a week from this time we find Essex remonstrating against the inconvenience of Waller's army being quartered with his, unless it was made clear that it was subject to his orders. The Houses were not, however, yet prepared to dispense with the name and service of the Lord-General, and therefore ordered that Sir William should receive his orders from him, and no longer by a distinct commission from the Parliament. Accordingly, when Prince Rupert advanced out of Oxford and took the town of Bedford, the Earl of Essex removed from Windsor, and placed his head-quarters at St. Albans, while Waller quartered at Colnbrook. 1643.

Intrigues to put the Earl of Manchester in Essex's place.

In the dissensions which existed on every side at this period it is not very surprising to find new parties arising in rivalry to contend with the fame and reputation of the Earl of Essex. The Earl of Manchester had been charged with the especial protection of what were called the Associated Counties, where he had an army of 14,000 horse and foot, with which he had already done the Parliament great service; so that many of the leading members thought of putting him in the Earl of Essex's place, and with that view took every occasion of making that constant provision for his army which the Lord-General complained was lacking in his own; the maintenance of which, nevertheless, appears to have cost the Parliament, in the year 1644, above a million of money[3]. From this time, however, it is distinctly recorded that the ruling party had discerned that Essex would not serve their turn, or comply with their desires; and Manchester was consequently placed quite independent of the Lord-General, with Oliver Cromwell under him, and his army, which had occupied Newport Pagnel, was now ordered to march with its whole body into Yorkshire, and report himself to the Lord Fairfax.

[3] Dugdale's View.

1643. The King did Essex no good in the estimation of the Roundheads, by making him an intermediary of a parchment signed by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, forty-three Lords, and eighteen members of the House of Commons, assembled under the Royal proclamation to meet as a Parliament in Oxford, in order to show "that his subjects might see how willing he was, as far as in him lay, to restore the peace of the kingdom." Essex, with great prudence, declined to have any thing to do with a document not addressed to the Parliament at Westminster, and being altogether without any acknowledgment of them. Many letters were at this time written from Oxford to the Earl of Essex; which of course were matters of great jealousy to the more violent and unscrupulous, who knew that their own offences could never really be forgiven, and who did not therefore like such private dealings with the King and his adherents.

The King vainly tries to tamper with Essex.

1644. In the midst of January, 1644, the Scotch army, under command of Alexander Lesley, Earl of Leven, crossed the border, and advanced to meet the Royal army under the Marquis of Newcastle on the 2nd February. The Parliament were now roused to make extraordinary preparations, in order to put a speedy termination to the war. Yet we find Essex presenting, in February, a letter in the House of Lords from General Skippon, the Lieutenant-General of his army, stating that the troops were in a state of mutiny for want of pay; and again, on the 8th April, a declaration of his own, powerfully remonstrating against the neglected condition in which his army was left. Accordingly a new regulation was made to raise the army of Essex to 10,000 horse and foot; and by another ordinance an independent force of about 5000 horse and foot, were, notwithstanding Sir William Waller's ill-success the previous year at Roundway Down, sent into the West, to oppose Prince Maurice, who, with Lord Hopton, had an army of

Arundel Castle taken by Hopton: retaken by Waller.

equal magnitude about Winchester, with no one to observe them. Waller failed in obtaining any respect from these opponents, and shut himself up in Farnham Castle; while Hopton, finding himself unopposed, attacked and carried Arundel Castle. Accordingly Waller repaired in person to London, to ask for increased supplies; and he had influence enough in the House to procure an order for Essex to detach from his army 1000 horse under Sir William Balfour to go back with him. At the end of March Waller, with this reinforcement to his army, was already on his return to Farnham Castle, where he scarce rested, but to inform himself how the Lord Hopton's troops lay quartered: when, judging that they were placed at too great distance from each other, he resolved to beat up their quarters (which was his peculiar characteristic), and, marching forth in the night, he was enabled by break of day to encompass the village of Alton, where Colonel Boles, with a regiment of foot and a troop or two of horse, lay in quarters. The latter took to flight betimes, and the infantry barricaded themselves in the church, where they threw down their arms and asked for quarter, which the Colonel disdained to do, and lost his life in consequence. Thence Waller marched direct to Arundel Castle, which, finding it quite unprovided, he retook, and made the garrison prisoners. The King, hearing of the reinforcements obtained by Waller, sent the Earl of Forth from Oxford to strengthen the Lord Hopton, who was in the field at the head of 8000 men, and resolved to give Waller battle. The two armies met on Cheriton Downs, near Hereford, on the 29th March. The Cavaliers never behaved so ill as on that day. They were, as they always were, less well armed than the Parliamentarians, and, without similar protection to their bodies, were worsted by Sir Arthur Hastings's cuirassed men, who were so formidable as to be called the *lobsters*, upon whom they could make no impression. The Royal foot behaved very gallantly, and not only

1644.

Action on Cheriton Downs, March 29.

1644. withstood the enemy's foot, but two or three charges from their formidable horse, without being broken. But they were not supported by the craven Cavaliers, who could not be persuaded to stand by them. The Lord Hopton therefore, as evening drew on, thought it necessary to retire from the field with all his cannon and ammunition in order, and to gain Reading, whither Waller was too much shaken to follow him. But in a day or two afterwards he advanced to Winchester, where he thought the gates of the Castle would upon this success have been opened to him. But the citadel was found too well defended; so that Waller took revenge upon the city by plundering it, and then marched away.

Essex threatens Oxford.

Waller's success at Hereford increased the jealousies between him and Essex, the latter thinking himself underrated and the other too much exalted; while the Parliament, promising themselves to make an end of the war in the summer, ordered the Lord-General to take the field. He marched out of London on the 10th May, and occupied Beaconsfield, while Waller remained at Farnham; by which means the Earl was enabled to effect a union; though the two armies did never afterwards join in one body, but kept at a convenient distance in case there should be occasion to help each other. As soon as the King heard that the Lord-General was in the field, he withdrew his garrison from Reading, and concentrated his army about Wantage, Farringdon, and Abingdon. Essex sent forces immediately to occupy Reading, and on the 25th obliged the Royal troops to evacuate Abingdon, which he occupied with his head-quarters, while Waller approached Wantage. The King's army on this fell back on Oxford and Woodstock, placing their outposts on the banks of the Cherwell and Isis. Essex carried the whole army across the Thames at Sandford Ferry, and made a demonstration with it at Bullington Street, in full sight of the Royal occupants of Oxford.

The whole force here displayed is said to have numbered 23,500 horse and foot. There was a general impression that Essex intended to obtain possession of Oxford. Whereupon the King drew all his forces into the city, and to the north of it, and entertained serious thoughts at the same time of providing for the security of his person, not judging it proper to be shut up within the walls. The Parliament was not without some apprehension that the King would put himself under the protection of the Earl of Essex, which they could not endure to think of; and the idea troubled them so much that the Committee that conducted the war wrote to their General to desire they might be acquainted if His Majesty had any intention of coming to his army. 1644. —

The King escapes from Oxford, and safely reaches Worcester, June 6.

The next morning some skirmishing took place at Gosford bridge; and as the Earl had his quarters at Islip on the east side of the Cherwell, the King resolved to attempt to make a night surprise of Sir William Waller at Abingdon; and the Earl of Cleveland was sent on this service, who, with 150 horse, entered the town, and killed and took prisoners a few men; but being overpowered, he could only make good his retreat by letting his prisoners go; and the expedition returned in safety to the Royal camp, to the north of Oxford. Both Essex and Waller made another attempt to cross the rivers, and the latter forced the bridge across the Isis at Abingdon, which rendered the King's position at Oxford so hazardous, that on the 3rd June it was deemed advisable for him to leave the city, when, marching away by Burford and Evesham, he attained Worcester on the 6th. Essex had on the day of the King's escape carried his army across the Cherwell and advanced to Woodstock, so that it had been high time for the King to provide for the safety of his person. The two Generals were sadly disconcerted on finding that His Majesty had thus

1644. escaped them; but it was now too late to overtake him.

Fresh disputes between Waller and Essex, who refuses to obey the orders of Parliament.

The intercepted letters which the Committee had sent to Essex on the 30th ult., contained intelligence of the extreme distress to which the garrison of Lyme was reduced, and the Lord-General was earnestly urged to send relief to that place. This gave occasion to a new dispute between Essex and Waller. Both Generals appeared to have desired to march to the West, and Waller had been originally named by the Parliament for this service; but on the arrival of the Lord-General at Chipping Norton, on the 6th, he called a Council of War, which resolved that as Waller's army had lighter artillery and fewer carriages, he should go in pursuit of the King; and he reports to the Committee that, as he was to apply himself to the relief of Lyme, he durst not undertake that service with less than his entire army. Waller remonstrated vehemently against the reversal of the former order, but was peremptorily ordered to march according to the decision of the Council of War, to which the other could make no reply, but sent a complaint to the Parliament, who were much offended at the Earl's disobedience, and sent an order after him to return and follow the King; but this did not reach him until he had arrived at Salisbury, when, instead of complying, he wrote back his excuses, subscribing himself, "your innocent, though suspected servant, Essex," and, prosecuting his resolution, continued his march for the West.

Essex offers to resign: consternation of the Parliament: his character contrasted with Waller's.

The Earl by slow and easy marches entered Dorsetshire; and Prince Maurice, having information of his arrival at Dorchester, raised the siege of Lyme, and retired to Exeter. Within a few days Weymouth, which was under the government of Ashburnham, gave itself up to Essex; and though he produced a warrant under the hand of Prince Maurice, that he might, on the advance of the Earl, withdraw to Portland Castle, he

lost much reputation by yielding it up so soon. Queen Henrietta Maria was at this time at Exeter, where she had been delivered of the Princess Henrietta a fortnight or three weeks before Essex's approach. She accordingly sent and desired a safe conduct from the Earl to retire to Bristol. But he replied that he could not give her a safe conduct anywhere without the express order of both Houses. The Lord-General was in no condition with the Parliament to do Her Majesty any service, for the prejudice against his march to the West had risen to such a height, that he had gone to the extent of telling the Committee that "if you call me back as one that is not fit to be trusted any further in a business of such high concernment, I will come and sit in Parliament, as not knowing any military employment which is worthy of my presence." The unanimous opinion of a Council of War, composed of land and sea officers, was, that it would be exceedingly prejudicial to the cause were Eesex to withdraw; and this is the character given by Clarendon of his estimation in the army:—"It can hardly be imagined how great a difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the army under Essex and the other under Waller in their behaviour and manner towards the people, and consequently in the reception they found among them,—the demeanour and carriage of those under Waller being much more ungentlemanly and barbarous than that of the other: besides that, the people in all places were not without some affection, and even reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account as the memory of his father, had been always universally popular." Yet his enemies were numerous and powerful at Westminster, and there was a good deal of angry debating as to the necessity of his carrying away his entire army for the relief of Lyme, which, it was contended, might have been relieved by a party of horse. In the end, however, a resolution that he should continue where he was, was made known in a

1644.
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1644. letter signed by Lord Grey of Warke, and Speaker Lenthall, in a severe style of reprimand.

Repulse of Waller at Cropedy Bridge: the disaster of Marston Moor obliges the King to march westward.

After the King had quitted Oxford, he had a great deal of manœuvering with Sir William Waller, throughout the whole month of June, by which His Majesty was enabled to return to Oxford, and thence to pass into Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, without any other design than to give the enemy battle if there was occasion. At this time occurred the affair at Cropedy bridge, on the Cherwell, when Waller was repulsed by the King, with the loss of many of his men and part of his cannon. The disaster of the battle of Marston Moor, however, again obliged the King to march to the westward. Information of this was speedily communicated to the Lord-General by the Committee, who wrote that they had directed Sir William Waller to send a detachment towards Dorchester. Essex received this despatch at Tiverton, where he had rested from the 10th to the 18th July, and where he had been apprised of the great victory of Marston Moor and of the royal intentions. As soon, therefore, as he heard of the King's approach he called a Council of War to debate what was to be done in this new posture of affairs. Plymouth had sent an urgent appeal that it might be relieved, being in great want of money and forage for their horses: and as this town was the only place then in the hands of the Parliament, it was thought best that Essex should carry his army against Sir Richard Grenville, who was before Plymouth; and thence, upon the persuasion of Lord Roberts of Truro, it was thought expedient that he should proceed into Cornwall, where he was assured that he should gather considerable strength; and it was supposed that Waller, or some other force, would be sent into the West to harass the King's rear.

Oversight of Essex in neglecting to attack

There can be no question at all that the Earl of Essex made a very considerable blunder in adopting this resolution. Considering the ill-estimation in

which he stood with the extreme party in Parliament, who believed that he had resolved not to continue to fight against the person of the King, it especially behoved him to have turned back and attacked the King, who, having united with Prince Maurice, was at Exeter with about 13,500 horse and foot on the 26th July. This appears to have been his intention when the King reached Bath. But the Lord Roberts, who was a general officer in the army, though of inferior rank to Essex, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl now possessed, being in conjunction with Sir Henry Vane, who was the Lord-General's principal enemy. Cornwall was Lord Roberts's county, and was utterly unknown to Essex, who unwisely deferred to the impetuous disposition of this Lord, that the army should continue its march into Cornwall, where he gave out that he possessed much influence, and made no question but the presence of the Earl of Essex would so unite that county to the Parliament's service, that it would be easy to defend the passes, so that the King's army should never be able to enter it. Whereupon the Lord-General departed from his own resolution, and incautiously complied with Lord Roberts's advice, marching into a *cul de sac* before he had any assured intelligence that another Parliamentary army was marching after the King. 1644. — the King at Exeter: the Earl is misled by Lord Roberts.

Before the approach of Essex, Sir Richard Grenville had raised the siege of Plymouth, and retired into Cornwall. The King, on the 28th July, pushed on after the Lord-General, and reached Liskeard on the 6th August, when Essex was at Lostwithiel, who had written such urgent letters to the Committee, that Colonel Middleton, with 2500 men, was sent to the West in great haste. But Sir William Waller, who had no great sympathy for the Lord-General, although he was in London at the time, declared his own inability to march from the disorganized condition of his army after his discomfiture at Cropedy bridge. The King, seeing the The King's letter to Essex.

1644. straits into which Lord Essex had fallen, and knowing him to be sorely pinched through want of provisions, thought it a fair opportunity to try to win him, and wrote him this letter:—

"Essex.—I have been very willing to believe that whenever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable kingdom, which all good men desire, you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you: you have it at this time in your power to redeem your country and the Crown, and to oblige your King in the highest degree; an action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence, and honour that may be, and such an opportunity as perhaps no subject before you ever had, or after you shall have, to which there is no more required but that you join with me heartily and really in the settling of those things which we have both professed constantly to be our only aims.

* * * * * *

"I have engaged to you the word of a King, that, you joining me in that blessed work, I shall give both you and your army such eminent marks of my confidence and value, as shall not leave room for the least distrust among you, either in relation to the public or yourself, unto whom I shall then be your faithful friend,

CHARLES R."

This letter was followed by another (three days later) from eighty-six officers of the Royal armies, stating "that they had the King's leave to write, and declaring, on their faith and honour, their resolution to maintain with their lives whatever the King shall promise." To this the Earl returned this short and sure answer:—

"My Lords.—In the beginning of your letter you express by what authority you send it. I, having no

power from the Parliament who employed me to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust. Your humble servant, ESSEX." 1644.

The two armies lay face to face during the entire month of August,—the King's head-quarters at Boconnock, the seat of the Lord Mohun, with his army drawn up on the heath and inclosed grounds towards Liskeard, the latter with their fences being as breast-works against the enemy. Sir Richard Grenville joined His Majesty there after some fighting for the old Castle of Restormel, of which the Royalists obtained possession. Sir Richard, quitting Bodmin, encamped his forces near Lanhydroc, as well to straiten the enemy as to hold Resprin bridge, to communicate with Boconnock. Essex had his head-quarters at Lostwithiel, and guarded the Fowey river to its mouth at Fowey, of which little post he held possession. At length the King assumed more of the offensive, and his cavalry were pushed forward to threaten the communication between Lostwithiel and Fowey. So long as Essex could preserve the good little town on the sea, he might reasonably assure himself of stores of provision, since the ships of the Parliament had command at it. But Sir Jacob Astley now took post at View Hall over against Fowey, and at a fort at the mouth of the haven, by which the Royalists might prevent any thing from approaching for the army seawards. Tidings now arrived to the Lord-General that Middleton, who was coming up to his relief, had received a check near Bridgwater, and had been driven back to Sherborne by Sir Francis Doddington.

Middleton is repulsed by Sir F. Doddington: critical position of Essex.

The Earl began therefore to be very sensible of the ill condition he was in, and that he could not possibly long remain in this posture, seeing that within a very few days he must be without any provision for his army. He accordingly resolved that Sir William Balfour, with his whole body of horse, should cut their

Balfour passes undetected, by night, through the Royal quarters, Aug. 30.

1644. way through the King's army, and save them the best he could, while he thought to embark his foot with himself at Fowey, and endeavour to escape by sea. On the night of the 30th, which was as dark and misty as could be wished, Balfour passed with great silence through the Royal quarters, and within pistol-shot of the cottage in which Lord Goring, with the King's horse, was stationed for the express purpose of stopping him; for his intention of escaping that night had oozed out. The noble Lord was, however, as was his wont, in a deep debauch with his boon companions, and not so much as a single musket was discharged at the fugitives. Balfour had a brush with the Earl of Cleveland's brigade at break of day, but he resolutely pushed forward, and made good his way even to London, to the deep reproach of the King's army and all his garrison on the way.

Essex escapes by sea to Plymouth, Sept. 1: he soon after again takes the field.

The next morning (31st August), after the horse were gone, the Earl drew all his foot together, and, quitting Lostwithiel, marched away towards Fowey; Major-General Skippon commanding the rear-guard. The King himself from the fort descried the movement, and sent down against them a body of musketeers, who passed the entire day in smart skirmishing, in which many fell; and Skippon was obliged to relinquish four guns in the retreat. At nightfall the combatants were so near, that some cannon-shots fell within a few yards of the King when at supper. On the morning of the 1st September an old officer of Essex, who had been taken prisoner by the Royalists and had been exchanged, came and reported that the Parliamentary army would never stand to be embarked, for they were convinced that they would all be surrounded before noon. Upon these considerations the Lord-General "thought it fit to look to myself, if being a greater terror to me to be a slave to their contempts than a thousand deaths." Sending therefore orders to his Major-General to retire to the post of Menabilly and

Polkerris, or, if he were unable to do so, to make the best terms he could. Essex, accompanied by the Lord Roberts of Truro, and such other officers as he had a kindness for, embarked in an open boat, in which they reached Plymouth in safety the same day, or in the night; for on the 2nd he wrote to Skippon, who, however, had, with a brave resolution in the meantime, acted for himself. The brave Parliamentarian told the army "that their Generals and chief officers had thought fit to leave us, and are gone away: so that we are left alone upon our defence." But he proposed to them to act as their companions of horse had done, and "make our way through our enemies, and account it better to die with honour and faithfulness, than to live dishonourably." However, soldiers in such a condition may be excused for doing as their betters had done; and they prepared to demand a parley, and make terms by which the sick and wounded were to have leave to remain at Fowey, and the rest, leaving all their guns, arms, and ammunition behind them, were to have passes to Plymouth—the officers to retain their swords, money, and baggage. We may reasonably be struck by the lenity of these terms to men who had not a hope, or the slightest means, of effectual resistance; and it is fair to notice this as a proof of the King's clemency towards his rebellious subjects. 1644.

Essex's conduct is viewed with favour by Parliament: he again takes the field, 17th Oct.

The Lord-General on his part took the high line of indignation, and wrote a letter to his friend, Sir Philip Stapleton (which was read to the Parliament), in which he said, "How our poor army was neglected and oppressed is well known to you, and shall be to the world, for never were so many gallant and faithful men so long exposed without succour. This business shall not sleep if it be in my power." Essex was at any rate not insulted in his *misfortunes*, or it may perhaps be read "misconduct;" but on his arrival in London was received by the Committee without any abatement of the respect that had been constantly paid

1644. — him. The blame, as usual, was laid upon the subordinates, for the exigencies of the moment did not make it prudent to exasperate Essex. Colonels Weare and Butler, who had experienced some reverses in the retreat from Lostwithiel, were accused of some misconduct, and both were committed to the Tower on their arrival from Plymouth. But on the 7th September, within a week of his abominable dereliction of his army, Essex is informed by the Speakers of the two Houses, "that his fidelity and merit in the public service is not lessened; and they are resolved not to be wanting in their best endeavours for the repairing of this loss." They accordingly ordered a new army to be collected at Portsmouth, which they confided to his Lordship as very much conducing to the public service. The jealousy entertained against him was for the moment quelled by his reverse; and Parliament so exerted themselves to employ him afresh, that on the 17th October he was again in the field, and on the 21st Manchester and Waller came up to join him near Basingstoke.

The second battle of Newbury, Oct. 27.

The King had brought back his army, and had reached Salisbury a few days before these troops had joined, and had endeavoured to prevent their junction; in which, indeed, His Majesty had partly succeeded as against Waller, who was encountered and much worsted at Andover. Nevertheless the King, who would continue his march to Oxford, had reached Newbury, having detached Lord Northampton to Banbury, when the Parliamentary army of 16,000 men fell upon him, and fought the second battle of Newbury, on the 27th October.

Essex is disabled by illness.

The Earl of Essex, however, was not in that battle. An indisposition which had been gradually growing upon him, which perhaps had been aggravated by his late discomfiture, now increased to such a degree that he was compelled to quit the army, and lay up at Reading. The Houses, as soon as they were informed of the Lord-General's indisposition, sent a Committee of Lords and

Commoners to visit him, and express the affection of both Houses towards him. Essex writes back, "Many thanks for your inquiry after my recovery; which, I thank God, begins, though with a small progress. I can now sit up half an hour or an hour in a day without much pain." He was, however, obliged to remove to London. 1644.

Proceedings of Cromwell and the Independents against Essex: passing of the Self-denying Ordinance, April 3: appointment of Fairfax to the command.

The absence of the Commander-in-Chief from the second battle of Newbury, where he had been obliged to relinquish the command to Manchester and Waller, soon brought about new dissensions, which had most important results. A party, which had been formed in the House of Commons, waited only for this rupture to execute a project which was afterwards realized. Cromwell came to the Parliament at the end of the campaign, and publicly accused the Earl of Manchester of not having done his duty at the battle of Newbury. The Earl answered by a memorial which he presented to the Lords. This was the first step towards the celebrated Self-denying Ordinance, by which "Fairfax and Cromwell triumphed not only over the King and the Monarchy, but over the Parliament and the nation." The Independents, to which Cromwell belonged, were resolved to get rid of Essex, and proposed this scheme for remodelling the army, by which the Earl of Essex should be set aside without giving offence to him, or to his army, by which he was so much beloved. It has been sufficiently stated that he was never able to agree with Manchester and Waller, and therefore there was no intercourse between them during the discussion of this matter, while the Lord-General was on his couch at Essex House, and the two generals were with their army. But Essex was not a man to sleep under the blow that he saw was directed so pointedly against him; and accordingly he drew around him the Scotch Commissioners with Hollis, Stapleton, Meyrick, and others of the Presbyterian party, by whom it was debated whether steps might not be taken against

1644. — Cromwell. Whitelock, who records the anecdote of these meetings, says that some of those present carried the information of them to Cromwell, which only inflamed him the more to proceed; and after initiating the debate on the question that all members of Parliament be excluded from commands and offices, the Ordinance was carried in the Commons on the 19th of December. Fairfax was appointed the Chief Parliamentary General, who presented the new model[4], which did not contain the name of a single member of the Houses of Parliament. After many delays and much hesitation the Lords passed the Self-denying Ordinance on the 3rd April, 1645.

1645. Essex receives the thanks of Parliament for his services, and an annuity of 10,000*l.*

The Earl of Essex, however, made no haste to surrender his commission; and some men imagined that, as he had received it from the hands of the Parliament, he would have contested the surrender of it. In the end, however, the Lord-General delivered, at a conference of both Houses, held in the Painted Chamber, the following declaration, "that he had served them with affection and fidelity, and had often ventured his life for them, and would willingly have lost it in their service. But since they now believed that what they had more to do would be better performed by another man, he submitted to their judgment, and restored their commission to them, hoping they would find an abler servant."

The next day both Houses waited upon him at Essex House, to return him their thanks for the great service he had done the Kingdom, and to sweeten the offended General presented to him an order they had made for the better payment of 10,000*l.* per annum, formerly granted to him out of delinquent estates.

Manchester and Waller

By this same Self-denying Ordinance Manchester and Waller also lost their commands. There are two Earls

[4] This new arrangement of the Parliament army was regarded with so much contempt by the King's army, that they called it in scorn the "*New noddle.*"

of Manchester of note in the Civil Wars, father and son. The former had been in King James's time Lord High Treasurer of England, and died full of years and honours in the very beginning of the great Rebellion; so the General was first known as Lord Manderville. He had been early bred up in Court, having been of the party of the favourite Duke of Buckingham, into whose family he had married; but on the death of his first wife he married the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, a man regarded as the greatest patron of the Puritans. In consequence of this connexion Lord Manderville estranged himself from the Court, and engaged himself wholly in the conversation of the opposite party, who made him believe that the Court was inclined to hurt and even to destroy the country, while the enemies of the Church prevailed upon him to lessen his reverence for it,—that great errors were necessarily to be committed, and that all means were lawful to compass that which was necessary. The King was early advised to take a most unskilful course towards this Lord, which made him desperate,—this was the accusing him of high treason. He is spoken of as of a gentle and generous nature, and a person of great civility and good-breeding, and was of so excellent a temper and disposition, that these violent times and the rough parts he was called upon to act in them did not wipe out or much deface those marks. But as a soldier we do not read that he had any experience, any military qualities, or any success. Sir William Waller, on the other hand, had been brought up as an officer, and had commenced his military career in the service of the Confederate princes against the Emperor in the Thirty Years' War, when he had acquired the reputation of a good soldier, and upon his return home was distinguished with the honour of knighthood. Having been elected member for Andover in the Long Parliament, just after he had smarted in the Star Chamber, and having imbibed

1645. — lose their commands: character and career of both.

1645. Presbyterian opinions in his service in Germany, he became a determined opponent of the Court. He first served under the Earl of Essex in the expedition against Portsmouth; and, notwithstanding their subsequent dissension, he probably retained the ordinary attachment of a soldier to his first commander, and will be found to have attended the Earl's funeral.

Mode of life of the Earl of Essex after his resignation.

The Earl of Essex continued, after his resignation of the office of Lord-General, to be a member of the Committee of both kingdoms, and was especially a member appointed to manage the Admiralty affairs. He appears to have at this time united himself with the Presbyterians, and was at the head of that party which opposed the extreme measures and doctrines of the Independents. The Journals show that he was a constant and regular attendant in Parliament until within ten days of his death. He lived long enough to see the King in the hands of the Scots, but not to take any part in the subsequent transfer of the Royal authority into the power of the Parliament.

Last illness and death of Essex, Sept. 14, 1646.

In September, 1646, he caught a fever, brought on, as it is said, by over exertion in the chase of a stag in Windsor Forest: and on the 14th he departed this life at Essex House. The same day the Houses of Parliament adjourned out of respect to his memory, after voting that they would attend his funeral. For several days his body, or rather his effigy, lay in state in the great room of his residence, in white boots, scarlet breeches, a buff coat, and in his Parliament robes, with his sword by his side, his coronet on his head, and the General's staff of command in his hand.

It may interest military readers to know how a public military funeral was conducted in the seventeenth century, and others may find cause for many reflections how a State Exhibition, with all the attributes of the Monarchy and the Peerage, still retained its charms when they had both virtually ceased to exist.

1646. — Account of his funeral obsequies.

The true Manner and Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of the Right Honourable Robert Earl of Essex and Eu[6], Viscount Hereford and Bouschier, Baron of Ferrers, of Chantley, Bouschier, and Lorraine, on the 22nd October, 1646.

Four regiments of the trained bands of London lined both sides of the way from Essex House to Westminster Abbey.

A Regiment of Horse.

The Marshal of the City and his Men.

Servants, two and two.

Four Regiments of Foot, trailing their pikes; the Musketeers in a funeral posture, the drums covered with black, the fifes around a banner bearing the Earl's Arms.

Field Officers and Captains, two and two, 360 in number.

General Sir William Waller, trailing a pike.

Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets.

The Earl's Standard.

The Earl's Servants.

The Earl's Chaplains.

Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets.

The Guidon of the Earl.

One of the Earl's Chargers, covered with black cloth, adorned and garnished with plumes, shafferons, and escocheons of his Lordship's Arms.

Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets.

The Banner of Lorraine.

One of the Earl's Chargers, as before, with the Arms of Lorraine.

Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets.

The Banner of Bouschier.

One of the Earl's Chargers, as before, with the Arms of Bouschier.

[6] This title is given by Banks and other authorities in conjunction with that of Essex, and is believed to have been a French title, denoting Eu, or Evereux, in Normandy, from whence the name of Devereux was derived.

1646. Fifty Colonels and Field Officers in Mourning, who had served under the Earl.

Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets.

The Banner of Ferrers.

One of the Earl's Chargers, as before, with the Arms of Ferrers.

Knights.

Baronets.

Younger Sons of Noblemen.

Comptroller, Steward, Treasurer of the late Earl's household.

Trumpets.

The Great Banner of the Earl of Essex, bearing sixteen quarterings.

The Chief Charger of the Earl, covered with black velvet, adorned with arms, led by the Trainer of the Earl's Horse.

The Preacher, Martin Vynes.

Bluemantle Pursuivant with the Helm and Crest.

Rouge Dragon with the Spurs.

Portcullis with the Gauntlets.

York Herald with the Sword.

Norroy King of Arms with the Target.

Clarencieux with the Coat of Arms.

The Effigy on the Coffin,

Drawn in an open chariot of black velvet with six horses covered with black velvet to the ground, adorned and garnished with Arms.

Master Pudsey, Gentleman of his Lordship's Chamber, sitting at the feet of the corpse.

Each Horse led by a Groom.

Supporters of the Pall:

Henry Howard, second son of the Earl of Suffolk; Charles Reil, second son of the Earl of Warwick; Denzil Holles, second son of the Earl of Clare; Colonel Sydney, second son of the Earl of Leicester; George Montagu, second son of the Earl of Manchester; Thomas Sheffield, second son of the Earl of Musgrave.

The following Commandors, bearing pieces of armour: 1646.
Sir William Balfour, the helm and plume; Sir John Meyrick, the gorget.
Sir Ph. Stapleton, vambran and pauldron; Major-General Skippon, vambran and pauldron.
Sir James Sheffield, the breast; Major-General Bacon, the back.
Colonel Dawes, the gauntlets; Colonel Graves, the taces.
The bearers of the Bannerets being persons of quality.
Garter King of Arms, bareheaded.
The Chief Mourner, Walter Viscount Hereford,
His train borne by Master Garret and Nicholas Devereux.
The Assistants to the Chief Mourner were the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Holland, Lord Lisle, Sir R. Shirley, and Olive St. John.
The Horse of Honour, led by the Gentleman of the Horse.
Black Rod, bareheaded.
The Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Lords.
The House of Peers.
Serjeant of the House of Commons, bareheaded.
The Speaker.
The House of Commons, three abreast.
The Recorder of London.
The Aldermen, two and two.
Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines.
The Assembly of Divines.
A party of fifty horse to close the procession.

As soon as the funeral sermon was ended, the officers of his Lordship's household broke their staves; then the trumpets sounded; after which the great bell of St. Margaret's tolled thrice. Signal was immediately given from the top of the tower to the Stone Fort at

1646. Southwark to fire one piece of ordnance; the Vauxhall Fort, Redoubt, Blockhouses, and Tothill Forts then took up the firing of one gun each After this the regiment of horse in the Abbey churchyard fired their pistols, which was succeeded by a volley from each of the nine regiments of foot. This firing was repeated three times throughout, and closed the ceremony.

Character of the Earl of Essex.

We must now conclude the Biography of Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, with a summary of his character, civil and military. Lord Clarendon shall furnish the former. "He was of a rough nature, the most popular man of the kingdom, and the darling of the swordsmen. His pride and ambition were not accompanied by any ill-nature; and he had a faithfulness and constancy in his nature which always kept him religious in matters of trust: in a word, he might be imposed on in his understanding, but could not be corrupted by hopes or fears. He was in his friendships just and constant, and would not have practised foully against those he took to be enemies. He was more the idol of the people than the idolater of them. A weak judgment and a little vanity will hurry a man into as unwarrantable and as violent attempts as the most insatiable ambition will do. His vanity disposed him to be "His Excellency," and his weakness to believe he should be General in the Houses as well as in the field. The new doctrines and distinctions of allegiance of the King's power were too hard for him, and did intoxicate his understanding, and made him quit his own to follow theirs who, he thought, wished as well as, and judged better than, himself. He was no good speaker, but having sat long in Parliament, and being well acquainted with the order of it, he spoke better there than any where else, and was always heard with attention and respect, and had much authority in the debates. He was as much devoted as any man to the 'Book of Common Prayer, and obliged all his servants to be constantly present with him at it."

I will venture to draw a military character of the Earl from my own reading of what I have collected of his campaigns. Essex is an example of a soldier that has been met with in every army and in every age,—one who is a better officer than General. His conduct as Lieutenant-General in the first Scotch expedition in 1639, and the order and discipline maintained by him at all times as commander, cannot be too highly commended. On assuming the direction of the Parliamentary army in 1642, which it must be remembered was committed to him to model and get into shape, he showed very great ability. "The laws and Ordinances of His Excellency Robert Earl of Essex, printed in 1643," are extant, and can be referred to in proof of this. They were read and expounded before every regiment of his command before the army first took the field; and already at Worcester, before any blood had been drawn in the quarrel, Essex addressed the assembled divisions in these words:—"Gentlemen and fellow soldiers! I desire you to take notice what I, that am your General, shall by my honour promise to perform towards you, and what I shall be forced to expect that you will perform towards me."

* * * * * *

"This being my part, I shall now declare what is your duty towards me, which I must likewise expect to be carefully performed by you. I shall desire all and every officer to endeavour by love and affable carriage to command his soldiers, since what is done for fear is done unwillingly, and what is unwillingly attempted can never prosper. Likewise, it is my request that you officers be careful to the exercising of your men, and bring them to use their arms readily and expertly, and not to busy them in practising the mere ceremonious forms of military discipline: only let them be well instructed in the necessary rudiments of war, that they may know how to fall on with discretion, and how to retreat with care: how to maintain their order, and make good their ground."

His military qualities.

As a General, he did not lack daring any more than discipline; but he evinced more activity than forecast or vigilance, and he showed no strategy. He made his first march from St. Albans to Worcester for no apparent military object; so that when the King was collecting an army at Shrewsbury, Essex rested from the 14th September to the 19th October, without offering any impediment to this act of the Royalists' army, and only put himself in motion on learning that His Majesty had already done so, when he seemed to have no plan but to march away likewise as fast as he could, although the King's right flank almost touched on the march of the Parliamentary army, and with a little vigour might have been "doubled up," like Marmont's at Salamanca. Edge Hill, though called a battle, was a mere random fight, extremely bloody, and as little decisive as any action that only lasted four hours, and cost 10,000 men without the loss of any ground, could be. The relief of Gloucester was an energetic attack, extremely well planned and promptly executed, and did Essex much credit, for it had considerable influence in the campaign. But the battle of Newbury, if a victory, was won more by the act of the defeated enemy than by that of the conquerors. His march into the West, where he allowed himself and his army to be shut up in the toils of the King in the very centre of Cornwall, with no military object or necessity whatever, was too manifest a blunder and too signal a fault to be otherwise than conclusive against the generalship of Robert Earl of Essex.

The portrait of the Lord-General by Walker, the Parliamentary Vandyk, shows a man of a stern and commanding, but very soldierly bearing. He could not have been fifty years of age at the time he sat for this picture, for he was but fifty-two when he died[6].

[6] Clarendon, Rapin, Rushworth, Whitlocke—Ludlow's Memoirs. Life of Lord Essex.

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